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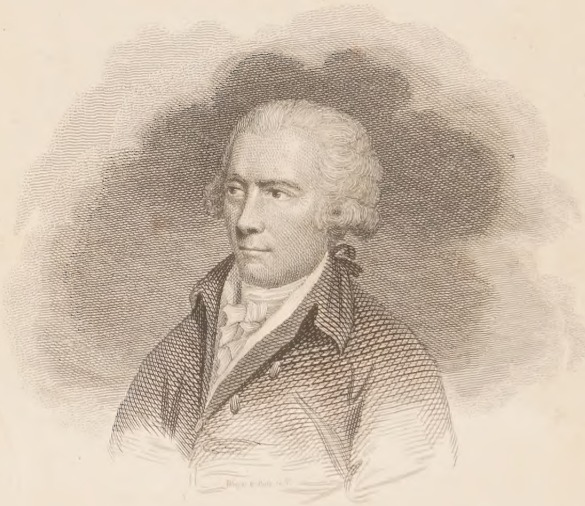

John Horne Tooke Esqr

THE

POSTHUMOUS WORKS

OF

JUNIUS.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

AN INQUIRY RESPECTING THE AUTHOR:

ALSO,

A SKETCH

OF THE

LIFE OF JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

By J. Bellows.

"NON VULTUS NON COLOR UNUS."

M 193186

NEW-YORK:

G. & C. & H. CARVILL, 108 BROADWAY.

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Southern District of New-York, ss. BE IT REMEMBERED, That on the eighteenth day of July, A. D. 1829, in the 54th year of the Independence of the United States of America, G. & C. & H. CARVILL, of the said district, have deposited in this office the title of a book, the right whereof they claim as proprietors, in the words following, to wit:

"The Posthumous Works of Junius. To which is prefixed, an Inquiry respecting the Author: also a Sketch of the Life of John Horne Tooke.

"Non vultus non color unus."

In conformity to the act of Congress of the United States, entitled "an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the time therein mentioned." And also to an act, entitled "an act, supplementary to act, entitled an act for the encouragement of learning, by securing the copies of maps, charts, and books, to the authors and proprietors of such copies, during the times therein mentioned, and extending the benefits thereof to the arts of designing, engraving, and etching historical and other prints."

FRED. J. BETTS,
Clerk of the Southern District of New-York.

J. SEYMOUR, PRINTER, JOHN-STREET.

DEDICATION.

TO SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

I DEDICATE this volume to you, in testimony of the respect and admiration with which I have marked your public course.—I dedicate it to you, because you were the steady, ardent, and generous friend of that very extraordinary man who occupies the chief station in this work—JOHN HORNE TOOKE. A man who, like yourself, always stood before his country as the great constitutional expounder of its laws, and the zealous and powerful advocate of just principles of government: who, unawed by the threats of tyranny, continued through a long life the unyielding enemy of oppression; and whose generous efforts and sufferings in the cause of freedom deserve to be held in the grateful remembrance of posterity.

THE COMPILER.

New-York, July 18, 1829.

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PREFACE.

The propriety of the title of this volume, "The Posthumous Works of Junius," will appear evident to the reader from remarks relating to it in the course of the work.

The obstacles thrown in the way by the writer of the letters of Junius, to screen himself from detection, having hitherto proved insurmountable, has induced many persons to affect a total indifference to the subject. It cannot however be disguised that, although a matter of mere curiosity, there is still a strong desire to ascertain the author of these far-famed letters. Curiosity, when once powerfully excited, remains a source of anxiety and uneasiness till gratified. Many of the subjects which have occupied the most intense application of the human mind will be found, on close examination, to amount to nothing more than the gratification of, it might be said, the ruling passion of man, curiosity.

In regard to the mysterious and long-sought author

of Junius, the compiler of this work, like many before him, is confident that he has fixed upon the right man, and, whether his readers agree with him or not, as he has reduced the arguments and speculations upon the subject to a narrow compass, and added works of the author and others not generally known, he hopes the volume will not prove uninteresting.

Stephens's Life of John Horne Tooke, one of the most celebrated political characters of the last century, has never been republished in the United States. The sketch here given, therefore, it is presumed, will be gratifying to every American who cherishes a love of civil liberty, and feels a partiality for its defenders in any quarter of the world. In fact, Americans ought to feel grateful to the memory of Tooke for the bold stand he assumed, in opposition to his government, at the commencement of our revolutionary war, to stay the approaching conflict.

That the style in which the letters under the signature of Junius were written, was not the natural, common style of the author, may easily be discovered by a comparison of them with his letters bearing other signatures; which for the most part, would not be supposed by any one, not acquainted with the fact, to be written by the same hand. In proof of this assertion, the reader is referred to letters signed Veteran, Lucius, Cleophas, &c. copied into this volume. There are, however, exceptions to this general remark.

Dr. Good, in his Preliminary Essay to G. Woodfall's Junius, observes that, "From the extraordinary effect produced by his first letter under the signature of Junius, he resolved to adhere to this signature exclusively, in all his subsequent letters, in which he took more than ordinary pains." The style of this letter, therefore, different from that in which he had been in the habit of writing, seems to have been his guide in the composition of the letters which followed, and to which he attached the same signature. In fact, Junius acknowledges himself what is here intimated. In a letter signed Philo-Junius, Nov. 14, 1769, in remarking upon a previous letter under his usual signature, he says, "Without considering the *ornamented style he has adopted*, I determined to look farther into the matter before I decided upon the merits of his letter."

When the letters were printing in volumes, Junius thus writes to Mr. Woodfall:

"The inclosed completes all the materials that I can give you. I have done *my* part. Take care *you* do yours. I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. Look to it. If you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. *I weigh every word; and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish.*"

In another note to the same, he says:

"In page 25, it should be *the* instead of your, this

is a *woful* mistake;—pray take care for the future—keep a page for errata."

This remark had reference to the commencement of letter, No. 3, addressed to Sir William Draper, and related to the style only, and not to the sense or grammatical construction of the sentence. It is as follows:

"*Your* defence of lord Granby does honor to the goodness of your heart." The passage remains the same to this day, in all the copies examined by the compiler, except G. Woodfall's.

A cotemporary writer with Junius observes, that "though he advances with the largest strides, his steps are measured. His expressions are selected with the most anxious care, and his periods terminated in harmonious cadence. Thus he captivates by his confidence, by the turn of his sentences, and by the force of his words. His readers are persuaded because they are agitated, and convinced because they are pleased. Their assent, therefore, is never withheld; though they scarcely know why, or even to what it is yielded."

There can be no doubt but that Junius was extremely cautious, in his future writings, to avoid the precise, measured style of these letters from fear of detection. A close imitation of them, therefore, instead of furnishing proof of authorship, ought to be viewed as affording pretty conclusive evidence to the contrary. The style of no writings subsequent to

their publication, can by any means be relied upon as a guide to discover the author. The talents, character, avowed political sentiments, and the perseverance and boldness with which they were maintained, are the only criterions upon which any confidence can be placed. The opinion here advanced is corroborated by the Edinburgh Review for June, 1826; where it is asserted that, "almost every contributor to a newspaper, during the twenty years which followed the letters, was an imitator of Junius."

In the compilation of this volume, to save the labor of transcribing in referring to the various works from which extracts are taken, the marks distinguishing the quotations from the comments of the compiler, have in a few instances been neglected, particularly at the close of some of the extracts. The sense of the passages will however readily correct these omissions.

In addition to the many excellent remarks taken from the Preliminary Essay prefixed to Woodfall's Junius, a great part of the first hundred pages are employed in endeavors to remove any prepossessions that might exist in favor of rival candidates that stood in the way of the person to whom the letters are attributed in this work, and also to point out the deceptions made use of by Mr. Woodfall to screen the real author from suspicion. This course, although somewhat tedious in the detail, was deemed necessary to prepare the reader for a favorable reception of what followed.

Nothing but facts can be of essential use in a discussion upon the authorship of Junius. Essays consisting of conjectures and surmises drawn from premises not substantially supported, in however elegant language they may be couched, can never avail. A work upon the subject, to entitle it to any weight, must be a book of documents.

In bringing together, in the first instance, such a mass of testimony as is produced in this volume, the indulgence of the reader will no doubt be granted for any trifling defects in the arrangement. The ground taken, and the inferences drawn from facts by reference either to the letters of Junius or to other works, are the only topics upon which criticism can be of any importance; and in this respect the book is with confidence submitted to the most rigid examination.

J. F.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION, ... 9

CHAPTER II.

Extracts from the Advertisement and Preliminary Essay prefixed to G. Woodfall's Junius, with Remarks, ... 16

CHAPTER III.

Extracts continued—Examination of the Claims of persons who have been named as the Author of these Letters, ... 37

CHAPTER IV.

Claims of Sir Philip Francis to the Authorship of Junius's Letters, examined, 51

CHAPTER V.

Remarks of Mr. Francis on the Regency Question—Passages in the Writings and Speeches of Mr. Francis compared with Passages in the Letters of Junius—Remarks, ... 68

CHAPTER VI.

Claims of Charles Lloyd to the Authorship of Junius's Letters, ... 93

CHAPTER VII.

Sketch of the life of John Horne Tooke—His education and early views—First journey to France, ... 103

CHAPTER VIII.

The subject of this Memoir determines to take an active part in the Disputes of that day—Revisits France; where he meets with Mr. Wilkes—Copy of a singular letter transmitted from Montpelier—He repairs to Italy, . 114

CHAPTER IX.

Account of Mr. Horne's exertions to bring to justice the murderers of Allen, Bigby, and George Clarke—His interference in the affair of John Doyle, and John Valline—Comparison of his conduct with that of Junius in the foregoing cases, ... 149

CHAPTER X.

Dispute with George Onslow—Junius and Horne act as one man in this affair—Reflections, ... 160

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Horne suggests the idea of a Reply to the king, and obtains a statue for the lord mayor—Founds the "Society for Supporting the Bill of Rights"—Countenances Bingley in his refusal to answer Interrogatories, . . . 175

CHAPTER XII.

Letters from John Horne to John Wilkes, ... 196

CHAPTER XIII.

Introductory Remarks—Examples of the practice and skill of Junius in attacking and defending himself—Remarks on the letter to the duke of Bedford—Sentiments of Junius in respect to Wilkes—Criticism on the Correspondence of Junius and Horne, ... 243

CHAPTER XIV.

Private correspondence between Junius and John Wilkes, ... 307

CHAPTER XV.

Private letters of Junius addressed to H. S. Woodfall, ... 359

APPENDIX.

I. Eloquence of Junius, ... 403
II. Examination of Woodfall, ... 411
III. Destruction of the Jesuits in France, ... 416
IV. Eulogy on John Horne Tooke, ... 417
V. Junius discovered, ... 420
VI. Letter from David Garrick, ... 423
VII. Birth-day of our liberty, ... 424
VIII. Letter to Major Cartwright 425
IX. Anecdotes and Sentiments, ... 425

ERRATA.

The passage at the top of page 17, should read as follows: "to adopt his own language, were attributed to him; or from numerous other casual hints both in the acknowledged and more palpable Miscellaneous Letters" &c.

In pages 203, 204, in some copies there is a repetition, in others an omission: the latter should read thus, beginning at the bottom line of the text page 203. "but the rule does not extend to you; for in those pamphlets, even if I had written them, there is no reflection upon you" &c.

Page	18	line	3	of notes	*for*	declarations	*read* declaration.
"	"	"	"	"	"	declamations	" declamation.
"	50	"	13	Text.	"	to this passage	" to this.
"	78	"	1	"	"	Francis	" Junius.
"	198	"	3	Note	"	which latter	" which.
"	237	"	22	"	"	commentating	" commenting.
"	275	"	27	Text	"	equivocal	" unequivocal.
"	290	"	31	"	"	course	" coarse.
"	368	"	6	"	"	these	" those.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS. &c.

CHAPTER I.

INTRODUCTION.

The established reputation of the Letters of Junius, already familiar to the public, is a sufficient guarantee that his other works are not deficient in talents and interest.

Although many of his communications to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, under various signatures, were in their nature ephemeral, and not calculated to outlive a newspaper publication, yet some of them were of a different description, and are very worthy to appear in connexion with the Letters signed Junius; and which it was the original intention of the author to have selected and combined with them, in the first edition of the letters in the book form. This, however, was relinquished in consequence of his anxiety to get out the publication before the meeting of parliament at that period. A judicious choice of these Letters will, no doubt, prove satisfactory to the reader.

The private notes to Woodfall, the printer, exhibit the character and views of the author, and consequently become, in a measure, necessary adjuncts to the Public Letters.

The confidential correspondence with Wilkes, I will venture to say, exhibits the most finished duplicity and deception that were ever successfully practised upon the credulity of any man or society of men in any age or country.

The dispute and correspondence of Messrs. Wilkes and Horne, will be found to be an important link in the machinery of the works of Junius, and in fact, to contain the key, if the writer is not very much deceived, of the hitherto unexplained mystery attached to them.

"The question respecting the author of Junius's Letters is thought, we believe, by philosophers, to be one of more curiosity than importance. We are very far from pretending that the happiness of mankind is materially interested in its determination: or that it involves any great and scientific truths. But it must be viewed as a point of literary history: and among discussions of this description, it ranks very high. After all, are there many points of civil or military history really more interesting to persons living in the present times? Is the guilt of Queen Mary, or the character of Richard III. very nearly connected with the welfare of the existing generation? Indeed, we would rather caution, even the most profound of philosophers, against making too nice an inquiry into the practical importance of scientific truths: for assuredly there are numberless propositions, of which the curiosity is more easily descried than the utility, in all the branches of science, and especially in the severer ones—the professors of which are the most prone to deride an inquiry like that about Junius. That the community has long taken an extraordinary interest in this question,—that a great and universal curiosity has been felt to know who wrote the Letters, seems quite sufficient to justify a good deal of pains in the research, and satisfaction in the discovery. He, who should find out the longitude, would, no doubt, more substantially benefit the world: yet we dare to assert that for one, who really profited by the discovery, a thousand would derive nothing beyond the mere gratification of curiosity: and the inventor's fame would depend chiefly on their voice. Is any man much the better for knowing how the alkalies are composed? In his circumstances, no one—but, in his scientific capacity, every one, who regards the gratification of a learned curiosity. Let us not be too curious in settling the relative importance of literary labour, or even of scientific pursuits. It is a good thing to find out the truth, at all events: and the pleasure

of knowing what was before unknown, forms, perhaps in all cases, the greater proportion of the value derived from the inquiry."—*The Edinburgh Review*, (of Mr. Taylor's book on Junius,) 57, 94.

The following notice is taken of the works enumerated for the purpose of precluding the necessity of being more particular in referring to them, which will occasionally be required:—

I. "The Letters of Junius, with notes and illustrations, historical, political, biographical, and critical: by Robert Heron, Esq., in two volumes."—Philadelphia, 1804, from the London edition of 1801.

II. "The Letters of Junius complete, interspersed with the letters and articles to which he replied, with notes biographical and explanatory: also a prefatory inquiry respecting the real author, in two volumes. By John Almon. London, 1806."

Mr. Almon was a bookseller and publisher in London at the time of Junius's first appearance, and, in fact, was prosecuted for reprinting his thirty-fifth letter, addressed to the king.

III. "The Identity of Junius, with a distinguished living character established. By John Taylor."—New-York, 1818, copied from the second English edition of the same year.

IV. "Junius Unmasked: or Lord George Sackville proved to be Junius. Anonymous." Boston, 1828.

This work purports to give additional testimony to a "Critical Inquiry," by a Mr. Coventry, advocating the same side of the question, published at London, 1825.

V. "The Claims of Sir Philip Francis, K. B., to the authorship of Junius's Letters disproved: also some Inquiry into the Claims of the late Charles Lloyd, Esq., to the authorship of them, &c. By E. H. Barker, Esq. London, 1828."

This volume being intended as a supplement to the common editions of the Letters of Junius, such general remarks in the Preface and Preliminary Essay, prefixed to G. Woodfall's edition of the complete political works of the author as may appear essential in respect to the Letters themselves, the authorship, &c. will be extracted: avoiding, at the same time, to overload the pages with minute, irrelevant, or trifling matter tending to fatigue and confuse the reader.

Commentators upon Junius have given themselves a vast deal of trouble and perplexity by assuming whatever he says of himself as indisputable facts, when, as a general rule, the direct contrary might probably be more safely relied on. Mr. Barker remarks that "Mr. Taylor and the other writers on the subject of Junius, refer to Junius's own declarations about himself as unquestionable authority." Whereas, he observes, "his object was profound concealment, and this concealment was so necessary to his personal safety, that he would naturally take various means to mislead his readers in their inquiries after the mysterious writer."

Speculations like the following have been published sufficient to compose a volume. The tall "stature of Junius," says Mr. Taylor, "may be ascertained from a perusal of his Letters," because, "it is the custom only of tall men to attach, very commonly, the epithet *little* to those whom they are inclined to treat with disrespectful freedom." It has been contended that Junius was old, because he alleged his "age and figure" as an excuse for declining to accept a "ball ticket for the lord mayor's day," from Mr. Wilkes, to dance a minuet with his daughter; and moreover made use of the following expression: "after long experience of the world," in a letter to Woodfall. It is said also, that he must have been an old soldier, for he adopts "*Veteran*" as a signature to some of his letters, and uses correct technical military phrases on several occasions. But then, his letter to Junia is a puzzler, for that indicates youth. Thus has Junius been bandied about, and followed into every nook and corner, while he, like a *Will-with-a-wisp*, evades his pursuers at every turn.

According to the ground that has been taken to ascertain the person of Junius, he must have belonged to that nation against which he appeared to entertain the most inveterate prejudices; for, he says expressly, in one of his miscellaneous letters, signed "Scotus," and addressed to Lord Barrington: "My lord, I am a Scotchman." But in fact, Junius is most happily described, in the peculiar manner of Shakspeare, in the declaration of Iago respecting himself, "*I am not what I am*," and all search after him with a reliance on his own account of himself, will evér prove vain and fruitless.

The assertion of Junius, in the Preface to his Letters, that "If I am a vain man, my gratification lies within a narrow circle. I am the sole depositary of my own secret, and it shall perish with me," is of the same character with his other declarations in cases relating personally to himself. On the above passage, Dr. Good* remarks: "This must be understood only in general terms. From the following passage in Private Letters, No. 8, it is obvious that there were persons to whom the writer unbosomed himself: although there is still every reason for believing that such persons formed, as he has expressed it above, only *a narrow circle*. 'The last letter you printed, was idle and improper, and I assure you, printed against my own opinion. The truth is, there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who had rather see Junius in the papers, ever so improperly, than not at all.'" To the same effect is a passage in Junius's Public Letters, No. 36, addressed to the duke of Grafton.

"But, in the relation you have borne to this country, you have no title to indulgence; and if I had followed the dictates of my own opinion, I never should have allowed you the respite of a moment. In your public character, you have injured every subject of the empire; and though an individual is not authorised to forgive the injuries done to society, he is called upon to assert his separate share in the public resentment. I submitted, however, to the judgment of men, more moderate, perhaps more candid, than myself. For my own part, I do not pretend to understand those prudent forms of decorum, those gentle rules of discretion, which some men endeavour to unite with the conduct of the greatest and most hazardous affairs. Engaged in the defence of an honourable cause, I would take a decisive part. I should scorn to provide for a future retreat, or to keep terms with a man who preserves no measures with the public. Neither the abject submission of deserting his post in the hour of danger, nor even the sacred shield of cowardice should protect him. I would pursue him through life, and try the last exertion

* Dr. John Mason Good, editor of G. Woodfall's Junius.

of my abilities to preserve the perishable infamy of his name, and make it immortal."

In his private letter to Woodfall, No. 51, he says, "the gentleman who transacts the *Conveyancing* part of our correspondence, tells me there was much difficulty last night. For this reason, and because it could be no way material for me to see a paper on Saturday which is to appear on Monday, I resolved not to send for it." The editor of G. Woodfall's edition of Junius, who, it will appear throughout the work, was under the influence of two hostile principles, his conscience on the one hand urging him to declare the truth, whilst his promise not to expose the author on the other, was stimulating him to deceive, notwithstanding what he had said respecting the *narrow circle* of Junius's confidants, here insinuates that the person alluded to was only the carrier of despatches, and "was not intrusted with the full scope and object of his agency." Independently of the ridiculous affectation of styling a mere carrier or conveyer of packets, a gentleman who transacts any part of a correspondence, the term *conveyancing* will not admit of the construction here given. Although this gentleman did upon this occasion apply for papers for Junius, he is evidently designated as the transcriber of the letters. *Conveyancing* is a technical term in familiar use among lawyers, and Junius was too well read in the law to make use of it in the supposed ridiculous and improper manner. Webster defines it, "the act or business of drawing deeds, leases, &c"; and as these are generally transcribed from printed copies, a lawyer would be very apt to apply the term analogically to the drafting of any other papers. Besides, from the care observable in the composition of the letters of Junius, it is evident that the first drafts of them must have been subjected to considerable correction before they were submitted to the press.

We find that Junius was extremely anxious to obtain from Mr. Wilkes a correct copy of one of his letters to the Supporters of the Bill of Rights, and in consequence of his request not having been complied with in time, he was under the necessity of furnishing it "from his own notes." And in respect to a letter he addressed to Mr. Garrick, he writes to Woodfall, "I

would send the above to Garrick directly, but that I would avoid having *this* hand too commonly seen. Oblige me then so much as to have it copied in any hand, and sent by the penny post." In this case, he could certainly not allude to his own hand-writing, but to that of the person usually employed to copy his letters. In short, it was not in the power of man to perform the labor required in carrying on the correspondences of Junius without assistance; and it is probable that not a single public letter of his was sent to the printer in his own hand-writing. One assistant, at least, must have been constantly employed in transcribing.

Besides the confidential agents required by Junius to procure information and prepare the letters for the press, I shall, in the course of this work, endeavour to show, that Henry S. Woodfall was made acquainted with the author before the publication of the letters in volumes, and not long after the receipt of Junius's letter to him, dated Nov. 10, 1771, in which he says, "I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. Act honorably by me—and at a *proper time* you shall know me." That his son, G. Woodfall, at the time of publishing his complete edition of the public and private letters of Junius, as well as Dr. Good, the editor of that edition, were also in possession of the name of the author:—And that Alexander Stephens, Esq. the biographer of John Horne Tooke, and Sir Francis Burdett were, some time before the death of Junius, ranked among his confidential friends.

The evidence to establish these facts respecting all the above gentlemen, excepting the one last mentioned, arises from their contradictions, suppressions of facts, and incorrect statements, evidently done with a view of concealing the author of the letters; but which consequently operate most powerfully to expose him.

In making these remarks, I would by no means wish to be understood as impugning the character of those to whom they apply. They were, no doubt, under the most solemn engagements of secrecy; and if their honorable endeavors to fulfil their obligations should produce a contrary effect from that intended, no blame can be charged to their account.

CHAPTER II.

Extracts from the Advertisement and Preliminary Essay prefixed to G. Woodfall's Junius, with Remarks.

ADVERTISEMENT.

"The present edition contains, besides the letters published by authority of Junius himself, others written by the same author, under various signatures, which appeared in the Public Advertiser from April 1767, to May 1772, together with his Private Letters, peculiarly curious and interesting, addressed to his printer, the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall, and his confidential correspondence with Mr. Wilkes. These latter papers only reached the proprietor's hands after a considerable part of the work had been printed off, and will account for the unavoidable omission of any notice of them in the Preliminary Essay.

It is in perfect consistency with the plan at first proposed by the author, but which he was compelled in some degree to depart from, as remarked in the Preliminary Essay, that the edition now offered contains, independently of his more finished compositions under the signature of Junius and Philo Junius, letters under other signatures, bearing nevertheless characteristic and unequivocal marks of proceeding from the same pen: and which, though written perhaps with more haste than the former, exhibit merit enough to accompany them: while they possess no small portion of additional value as comments upon points that require elucidation.

The editor, in thus deciding upon materials which lie scattered through what the author terms six "solid folios," will be found seldom to have relied altogether upon his own judgment, but to have availed himself of a variety of minute clues resulting from incidental references, or open acknowledgments in the Private Letters; direct charges of contemporary laborers in the same political vineyard, which were not disavowed by Junius himself, as it was his custom whenever "other persons' sins,"

sometimes other casual hints both in the acknowledged and more (by adepts his own language,) were attributed to him; or from published Miscellaneous Letters, of which the reader, it is presumed, will meet with instances enough to satisfy himself as he proceeds.

To the author's explanatory notes, the present editor has added such others through the entire progress of the work, as the intervening lapse of time has seemed to render necessary, and though some of them are longer than he could have wished, yet from the circumstance of their having been *written in answer* to letters from *America*, he has thought it more desirable that they should appear in the form in which they are now offered, than be pressed into the text of the work, by which means its present size must have been very considerably extended; and the *plan*, as laid by the author, have been in some instances departed from. Many of these notes, moreover, selected from the Public Advertiser, will be found in themselves extremely curious and valuable, while at the same time they are no where else to be met with.* The text has been carefully collated with the journal in which the letters originally appeared, and very numerous errors which have crept into all the editions, except the genuine one published by Mr. H. S. Woodfall himself, and which have been unaccountably multiplied in the later impressions, have been carefully corrected or expunged.†

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* These remarks, if may be presumed, are intended as an apology for introducing a few private letters and other writings which seemed not to come under the Letters of Junius, considering that they constitute a part of the political works; which, it seems, was the wish of the author himself to be published entire. To say that "these" are to others not to be met with" is a mistake. I shall make these explanations as they occasionally occur.

A very small portion of the notes, by the way, were written expressly for Junius. The necessary attention was to detail made to divest the attention of the reader from the immediate subject of the work, rather irrelevant and disconnected with it, excepting for reasons above stated.

Some of the notes signed "Editor," indicate such minute knowledge of men and circumstances connected with the times in which the letters were written, as to render it probable that they were the production of the author.—*Am. Ed.*

† A gentleman, much attached to the writings of Junius, and who is a very industrious English scholar, has favored me with the manuscript corrections of errors in these Letters. Most of them, however, are anticipated before us, yet

The various fac-similes of the hand-writing of Junius, which are executed with peculiar fidelity, have been selected from those parts of his manuscripts which present the greatest diversity of penmanship, though the differences, except in that numbered eight,* are so trifling, that a hard or a soft, a good or a bad pen, is altogether sufficient to account for them. The papers which have been copied for specimens of the writing of Junius, will be found in their due order, among the Private Letters. The other fac-similes, as well as the seals, have been delineated with equal accuracy.

The proprietor feels it a duty incumbent upon him, before he closes this advertisement, to make his warmest acknowledgments to several distinguished characters who have inspected the papers in his possession, and who have kindly afforded him much valuable assistance.

To the gentleman to whom he stands so much indebted for the very valuable addition of the private correspondence between Junius and Mr. Wilkes, and which probably renders the whole of the *political* writings of the former complete, he begs most particularly to return his unfeigned gratitude.

To his more immediate personal friends for the warm interest they have evinced in the success of his undertaking, he feels far beyond what he is able to express. And he now submits these volumes to the judgment of the political and literary world, with deference and respect, in the hope that his earnest endeavours to present them for the first time with a complete and perfect edition of the Letters, and, as far as may be, the *Political Works*, of Junius, will not be wholly unsuccessful, and that he shall experience the further satisfaction of finding it acknowledged, that the task has been at least impartially executed.

PATERNOSTER ROW, April 15, 1812."

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there are two in this edition that are not unworthy of notice, and which I will here point out for the benefit of future publishers. One occurs in the first letter, near the close of the sixth paragraph, viz: *declarations*, instead of *declamations*. The other is found in the twentieth letter, third line from the beginning: *moderately*, instead of *modestly*. The true reading of this passage is given in Almon's edition. —*Am. Ed.*

* This is the number made use of in this volume.

The phrase "Political Works," is printed in the same manner as above, in Woodfall's edition: which evidently indicates the editor's knowledge that Junius had written other works. If he had not known this fact, he could not with any propriety have made use of the expression *political;* but would have said, "all the works of Junius, of which he had any knowledge," or something to that effect. The inference is irresistible; and the work, in the mind of the editor, written by the same author, was, I have no doubt, a celebrated philological work, entitled "Epea Pteroenta."

I shall omit no opportunity of adducing proofs of this editor's knowledge of Junius; because, that fact being established, his evasions will, to an almost absolute certainty, point out the author.

PRELIMINARY ESSAY.

"It was not from personal vanity, but a fair estimate of his own merit, and the importance of the subject on which he wrote, that the author of these letters predicted their immortality. The matter and the manner, the times and the talents they disclose, the popularity which attended them at their outset, the impression they produced on the public mind, and the triumph of the doctrines they inculcate, all equally concur in stamping for them a passport to the most distant posterity.

In their range, these letters comprise a period of about five years: from the middle of 1767 to the middle of 1772; and never has the history of this country, from its origin to the present hour, exhibited a period of equal extent that more peremptorily demanded the severe, decisive, and overpowering pen of such a writer as Junius.

It was at this period, that the letters successively made their appearance in the Public Advertiser. The classical chastity of their language, the exquisite force and perspicuity of their argument, the keen severity of their reproach, the extensive information they evinced, their fearless and decisive tone, and, above all, their stern and steady attachment to the purest principles of the constitution, acquired for them, with an almost

electric speed, a popularity which no series of letters have since possessed, nor perhaps ever will; and what is of far greater consequence, diffused among the body of the people a clearer knowledge of their constitutional rights than they had ever before attained, and animated them with a more determined spirit to maintain them inviolate. Enveloped in the cloud of a fictitious name, the writer of these philippics, unseen himself, beheld with secret satisfaction, the vast influence of his labours, and enjoyed, though, as we shall afterwards observe, not always without apprehension, the universal hunt that was made to detect him in his disguise. He beheld the people extolling him, the court execrating him, and ministers and more than ministers trembling beneath the lash of his invisible hand.

But, after all, who or what was Junius? this *shadow of a name*, who thus shot his unerring arrows from an impenetrable concealment, and punished without being perceived? The question is natural; and it has been repeated almost without intermission, from the appearance of his first letter. It is not unnatural, moreover, from the pertinacity with which he has at all times eluded discovery, that the vanity of many political writers of inferior talents should have induced them to lay an indirect claim to his Letters, and especially after the danger of responsibility had considerably ceased. Yet while the editor of the present impression does not undertake to communicate the real name of Junius, he pledges himself to prove, from incontrovertible evidence, afforded by the private letters of Junius himself during the period in question, in connexion with other documents, that *not one of these pretenders has ever had the smallest right to the distinction which some of them have ardently coveted.*

The private and confidential letters, addressed to the late Mr. Woodfall, are now for the first time made public by his son, who is in possession of the author's autographs; and from the various facts and anecdotes they disclose, not only in relation to this extraordinary character, but to other characters as well, they cannot fail of being highly interesting to the political world. To have *published* these letters at an *earlier period*, would have been *a gross breach of trust* and decorum: the *term of trust*,

however, seems at length to *have expired;* most of the parties have paid the debt of nature, and should any be yet living, the length of time which has since elapsed has so completely blunted the asperity of the strictures they contain, that they could scarcely object to so remote a publication of them. Junius, in the career of his activity, was the man of the people; and when the *former can receive no injury from the disclosure*, the latter have certainly a claim to every information that can be communicated concerning him."

Respecting the manuscripts of Junius, the editor makes the following remarks:

"There must have been some misunderstanding either of the *extent* of the question, or the *nature* of the answer in that part of a conversation which Mr. Campbell, in his Life of Hugh Boyd, states to have occurred between Mr. H. S. Woodfall, (editor and one of the proprietors of the Public Advertiser,) and himself, in relation to the preservation of these autographs. 'I proceeded,' says Mr. Campbell, 'to ask him if he had preserved any of the manuscripts of Junius? He said *he had* not.' p. 164. The veracity of Mr. H. S. Woodfall is well known to have been unimpeachable; and it is by no means the intention of the editor to suspect that of Mr. Campbell. It is probable that Mr. Woodfall understood the question to be, whether he had *regularly* preserved the manuscripts of Junius, or had preserved any of the manuscripts of Junius which had publicly appeared *under that signature?* No man, not even Mr. Campbell himself, could have suspected Mr. Woodfall to have been guilty of a wilful falsehood; nor can any advantage be assigned or even conceived that could possibly have resulted from such a falsehood, had it taken place."

The foregoing passage contains a pretty broad insinuation to be sure, that the original letters of Junius had been destroyed, or at least, had not been preserved by Mr. H. S. Woodfall; which, by the way, must have been well known to his son, and his not openly declaring it here can only be accounted for on the supposition of his being obligated not to reveal or weaken any part of the mystery respecting every thing that bore the most distant relation to Junius. Mr. Woodfall however, has,

since the publication of the above, with apparent reluctance, avowed the fact in this case; which is of some consequence, because it goes to corroborate the statement of a gentleman who, in my opinion, knew much more of this affair than Mr. Woodfall.

Mr. Barker, p. 67 of his Preface, observes, that "the only specimens of Junius's writing, whether in a real or feigned hand, whether in his own hand or in the hand of an amanuensis, on which reliance can be placed, are the private letters of Junius to Mr. H. S. Woodfall, in the possession of the present Mr. Woodfall." Which he confirms by the testimony of the latter as follows: 1. By a letter addressed to him from Mr. Coventry, dated Jan. 5, 1828, who says, "Mr. Woodfall declares that every year it was his father's custom to destroy all the papers of the preceding year; but with respect to Junius's correspondence, there is every reason to believe, that after such letters were printed, it was the invariable custom to return them to Junius, through the medium of the coffee-houses. Without any private opinion, we have sufficient evidence from the correspondence between him and Mr. Woodfall, that such packets were regularly sealed and delivered. What else could they contain?" 2. By a letter from Mr. Charles Butler, author of "Reminiscences," who thus writes: "I know from Mr. Woodfall himself, that he thinks the originals of Junius's Letters were destroyed by his father; but, as Junius's letters had so much real, and so much possible importance, I cannot believe the fact. Mr. Woodfall, however, is persuaded of it: and is convinced, that somehow or other, I am mistaken in thinking I saw the original letters in the custody of Mr. Wilkes."

Mr. John Horne Tooke, long before the above disclosures were made, asserted that the original letters *had been all surrendered*, as is stated by his biographer, Mr. Stephens, in vol. ii. p. 358, as follows:

"Some conversation occurred that day, (June 21, 1807,) at dinner, relative to Junius. He laughed at the idea of Mr. Boyd's being the author, as affirmed by Almon. On being told that Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall had intimated that he was in possession of several letters from him, in a fine Italian hand,

and seemingly written by means of a crow-quill, he observed, 'that Mr. Woodfall was a very honest man: but he doubted the fact! *They had been all surrendered.*"

"One of the company now asked, 'if he knew the author?' On the question being put, he immediately crossed his knife and fork on his plate, and, assuming a stern look, replied, 'I do!' His manner, tone, and attitude were all too formidable to admit of any further interrogatories."

Mr. Tooke evidently appeared to be conscious that he had committed himself too far, and was determined to put a stop to any further conversation on the subject.

I shall here make some remarks on the preceding extracts. We find that the editor, previously to commencing this work, had received *materials which lay scattered through what the author termed "six solid folios;"* and the question may be asked, from whence did they come? Except we believe that they were handed to the publisher in the manner the Koran is said to have been delivered to Mahomet, we must suppose that they were given to him by the writer, duly prepared for the press; with notes to be inserted agreeably to "*the plan as devised by the author;*" that the author was well known to the publisher: that these *six folios* were six volumes of the Public Advertiser: that every article they contained written by Junius, was so designated by him; and that their publication was prohibited till after the death of the author.

The editor says, "To have published these letters at an *earlier period*, would have been a *gross breach of trust* and decorum; the *term of trust*, however, seems *at length* to have *expired;*" and adds, "Junius in the career of his activity, was the man of the people; and when the *former can receive no injury from the disclosure*, the latter have certainly a claim to every information that can be communicated concerning him."

These passages indicate the death of Junius in as plain terms as could be expected from a writer desirous of involving every thing respecting him in obscurity. The supposition that the publication might be justifiable on account of *most of the parties having paid the debt of nature*, can have no weight except Junius be included among them. Because the few surmises in the

private letters bear no comparison to the bitter invectives in the public letters; and those, besides, were of such trifling consideration that they might have been omitted. What object could a writer effect by abusing public men in private letters to his printer, not to be published?

The conclusion, therefore, that Junius ceased to exist at the time of printing this complete edition of his *political* works, (July 15, 1812,) is inevitable.

The question then naturally occurs, what man of talents died at this period that could with propriety be suspected of writing these letters? I answer, that the death of a gentleman about this time is recorded, whose abilities and principles eminently qualified him for this work. I allude to John Horne Tooke, who died, according to the statement of his biographer, "on the night of Wednesday, March 18, 1812, in the seventy-seventh year of his age; a man (says Mr. Stephens,) equally singular in his character, his opinions, and his fortunes."

This happened within three days of four months previously to the appearance of this publication; which was as soon as a work of such magnitude could be prepared and printed.

"It was on the 28th of April, in the year 1767, that the late Mr. H. S. Woodfall, received, amidst other letters from a great number of correspondents, for the use of the Public Advertiser of which he was a proprietor, the first public address of this celebrated writer. He had not then assumed the name, or rather written under the signature of Junius: nor did he always indeed assume a signature of any kind. When he did so, however, his signatures were diversified, and the chief of them were Mnemon and Atticus, Lucius, Junius, and Brutus.

There were also a variety of other names occasionally assumed by this fertile political writer, to answer particular purposes, or more completely to conceal himself, and carry forward his extensive design. That of Philo-Junius, he has avowed to the public, in the authorised edition of the Letters of Junius: but besides this they have yet to recognise him under the mask of Poplicola, Domitian, Vindex, and a variety of others, as the subjoined pages will sufficiently testify.

From the extraordinary effect produced by his first letter under the signature of Junius, he resolved to adhere to this signature exclusively, in all his subsequent letters, in which he took more than ordinary pains, and which alone he was desirous of being attributed to himself; while to other letters, composed with less care, and merely explanatory of passages in his more finished addresses, or introduced for some other collateral purpose, he subscribed some random name which occurred to him at the moment. The letters of Philo-Junius are alone an exception to this remark. These he always intended to acknowledge; and in truth they are for the most part composed with so much of the peculiar style, and finished accuracy of the Letters of Junius, properly so called, that it would have required but little discernment to have regarded the two correspondents as the same person under different characters,—*idem et alter**—if Junius himself had not at length admitted them to be his own productions.

No man but he, who, with a thorough knowledge of our author's style, undertakes to examine all the numbers of the Public Advertiser for the three years in question, can have any idea of the immense fatigue and trouble he submitted to by the composition of other letters, under other signatures, in order to support the pre-eminent pretensions and character of Junius, attacked as it was by a multiplicity of writers in favour of administration, to whom, as Junius, he did not choose to make any reply whatever. Surely Junius himself, when he first undertook the office of public political censor, could by no means foresee the labor with which he was about to encumber himself. And instead of wondering that he should have disappeared at the distance of about five years, we ought much rather to be surprised that he should have persevered through half of this period with a spirit at once so indefatigable and invincible. Junius had no time for remote excursions, nor often for relaxation, even in the vicinity of the metropolis itself.

Yet from his private letters we could almost collect a jour-

* The same and another.

nal of his absences, if not an itinerary of his little tours: for he does not appear to have left London at any time without some notice to the printer, either of his intention, or of the fact itself upon his return home: independently of which the frequency and regularity of his correspondence seldom allowed of distant travel. "I have been out of town," says he, in his letter of Nov. 8, 1769, "*for three weeks*; and though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it."—On another occasion, "I have been *some days* in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night;" and again, "I must see proof-sheets of the Dedication and Preface: and these, if at all, I must see before the end of next week." In like manner, "I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country *for a few days*."

The editor, in his remarks above on the Itineraries of Junius, as deduced from his private letters, either meant to dupe his readers, or was egregiously duped himself. To suppose that Junius would detail all his movements to his printer, whom he wished to keep in utter ignorance of his person, and who undoubtedly was so at this time, is to deny him the common prudence which guides men of ordinary capacity. In the very letter alluded to, of Nov. 8, 1769, Junius intimates the want of a proper topic for discussion, and says, "but as soon as a good subject offers," giving it to be understood that on such occurrence he should be heard from. But the fact however, was, in my opinion, that Junius upon this occasion came from the country to the city to obtain information respecting the case of General Gansel. No letter appeared from Junius, under that signature or any other, from Oct. 17 to Nov. 14; when he addressed the printer, under the signature of Philo-Junius, as follows:

"The variety of remarks which have been made upon the last letter of Junius, and my own opinion of the writer, who, whatever may be his faults, is certainly not a weak man, have induced me to examine, with some attention, the subject of that letter. Without considering the ornamented style he has adopted, I determined to look farther into the matter, before I decided upon the merits of his letter. The first step I took was to inquire into the truth of the facts: for, if these were either false

or misrepresented, the most artful exertion of his understanding, in reasoning upon them, would only be a disgrace to him. Now, sir, I have found every circumstance stated by Junius to be literally true.—General Gansel persuaded the bailiffs to conduct him to the parade, and certainly solicited a corporal, and other soldiers, to assist him in making his escape. Captain Dodd did certainly apply to Captain Garth for the assistance of his guard. Captain Garth declined appearing himself, but stood aloof, while the other took upon himself to order out the king's guard, and by main force rescued the general. It is also strictly true, that the general was escorted by a file of musqueteers to a place of security. These are facts, Mr. Woodfall, which I promise you no gentleman in the guards will deny. If all or any of them are false, why are they not contradicted by the parties themselves?"

This inquiry took up the time which Junius pretended was passed in recreation in the country.

The second excursion noticed above, is mentioned by Junius in a letter to Woodfall, dated Aug. 16, 1769.

By turning to the notes accompanying the private letters of the above period, inserted in accordance with "the plan as devised by the author," we shall ascertain how Junius was employed at this time, and which will account for his neglecting the correspondence under his usual signature. We there find that on the 5th of July, Junius was engaged in bringing forward a petition to the king from the Livery of London.

Subsequently, in the same month, the dispute between Horne and Onslow occurred: in which, it will hereafter be shown, Junius took no inconsiderable part. In fact, "the same person under different characters—*idem et alter*"—is very conspicuous in this transaction.

"The last political letter that ever issued under the signature of Junius was addressed to lord Camden. It appeared in the Public Advertiser for Jan. 21, 1772, and followed the publication of his long and elaborate address to lord Mansfield upon the illegal bailing of Eyre; and was designed to stimulate the earl to a renewal of the contest which he had commenced with

the chief justice towards the close of the preceding session of parliament. It possesses the peculiarity of being the only encomiastic letter that ever fell from his pen under the signature of Junius.

With his public address to the people, in letter 58, he seems in the first instance to have resolved upon closing his labors at least under the character of Junius, provided no beneficial effect were likely to result from it, and as the printer had expressed to him an earnest desire of publishing a genuine edition of his letters in a collective form, in consequence of a variety of incorrect and spurious editions at that time circulating through the nation, he seems to have thought that a consent to such a plan would afford him a good ostensible motive for putting a finish to his public career; and on this account he not only acceded to the proposal, but undertook to superintend it as far as his invisibility might allow him; as also to add a few notes, as well as a dedication and preface.

The plan for publication, however, was not matured till October, 1771; when it was determined that the work should comprise all the letters which had passed under the signatures of Junius and Philo-Junius to this period inclusively, and be occasionally enriched by a selection of other letters under a variety of other signatures, which independently of that of Philo-Junius, our author, as has been observed already, not unfrequently employed to explain what required explanation, or defend what demanded vindication, and which he himself thought sufficiently correct to associate with his more labored productions. In the prosecution of this intention however, he still made the two following alterations. Instead of closing the regular series of letters possessing the signature of Junius with that dated Oct. 5, 1771, upon the subject of "the unhappy differences," as he there calls them, "which *had* arisen among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other"—he added five others which the events of the day had impelled him to write during the reprinting of the letters, notwithstanding the intention he had expressed of offering nothing further under this signature. And instead of introducing the explanatory letters written under other signatures, he confined himself, in

order that the work might be published before the ensuing session of parliament, to three justificatory papers alone: the first under the title of "A Friend of Junius," containing an answer to "A Barrister at Law;" the second an anonymous declaration upon certain points on which his opinion had been mistaken or misrepresented; and the third an extract from a letter to Mr. Wilkes, drawn up for the purpose of being laid before the Bill of Rights Society, and vindicating himself from the charge of having written in favor of long parliaments and rotten boroughs. This last however, was furnished, not by Mr. Wilkes, but from his own notes.

To judge of the moral and political character of Junius from his writings, as well private as public, he appears to have been a man of a bold and ardent spirit, tenaciously honorable in his personal connexions, but vehement and inveterate in his enmities, and quick and irritable in conceiving them. In his state principles he was strictly constitutional, excepting, perhaps, upon the single point of denying the impeccability of the crown: in those of religion, he at least *ostensibly* professed an attachment to the established church.

Of his personal and private honor however, we can only judge from his connexion with Mr. Woodfall. Yet this connexion is perhaps sufficient; throughout the whole of it he appears in a light truly ingenuous and liberal.

That Junius was quick and irritable in conceiving disgust, and vehement and even at times malignant in his enmities, we may equally ascertain from his private and his public communications. In the violence of his hatreds almost every one whom he attacks is guilty in the extreme; there are no degrees of comparison either in their criminality or his own detestation: the whole is equally superlative.

Yet it is not difficult to account for the more violent of his political abhorrences; and which seem, indeed, to have been almost exclusively directed against the duke of Grafton and lords Mansfield and Barrington, in conjunction with the earl of Bute: for his attacks upon the duke of Bedford and Sir William Blackstone, are but light and casual when compared with his incessant and unmitigated tirades against these noblemen

Firmly rooted in the best whig principles of the day, he had an invincible hatred of lord Bute as the grand prop and foundation-stone of toryism in its worst and most arbitrary tendencies: as introduced into Carlton-house against the consent of his present Majesty's royal grandfather, through the overweening favoritism of the princess dowager of Wales; as having obtained an entire ascendency over this princess, and through this princess over the king, whose non-age had been entirely entrusted to him, and through the king over the cabinet and the parliament itself. The introduction of lord Bute into the post of chief preceptor to his Majesty was in our author's opinion an inexpiable evil. "*That*," says he, "was the salient point from which all the mischiefs and disgraces of the present reign took life and motion." Thus despising the tutor, he could have no great reverence for the pupil: and hence the personal dislike he too frequently betrays, and occasionally in language altogether intemperate and unjustifiable, for the Sovereign. Hence, too, his unconquerable prejudice against Scotchmen of every rank.

The same cause excited his antipathy against lord Mansfield, even before his lordship's arbitrary line of conduct had proved that our author's suspicions concerning him were well-founded. Lord Mansfield, under the patronage of lord Stormont, had been educated with the highest veneration for the whole Stuart family, and especially for the Pretender: whose health, when a young man, had been his favorite toast, and to whom his brother was private and confidential secretary. It was for these sentiments, and for the politics which intruded themselves in his judicial proceedings, where the crown was concerned, that our author expressed himself in such bitter terms against the chief justice.

His detestation of the duke of Grafton proceeded from his grace's having abandoned his patron lord Chatham, and the whig principles into which he had been initiated under him, to gratify his own ambition on the first offer that occurred: from his having afterwards united sometimes with the Bedford party, sometimes with lord Bute, and sometimes with other connexions of whatever principles or professions, whenever the union appeared favorable to his personal views; and from his having

hereby prevented that general coalition of the different divisions of whig statesmen, which must in all probability have proved permanently triumphant over the power of the king himself. "My abhorrence of the duke," says Junius, "arises from an intimate knowledge of his character, and from a thorough conviction that his baseness has been the cause of greater mischief to England than even the unfortunate ambition of lord Bute."

Lord Barrington he might justly despise and even hate for his political versatilities and want of all principle; for atrocities indeed, which no man can yet have forgotten, and which never can be buried in forgetfulness but with the total oblivion of his name.

These were the prime objects of our author's abhorrence; and in proportion as other politicians were connected with them by principles or want of principles, confederacy, nation or even family, he abhorred them also.*

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* The character here drawn of Junius accords so exactly with that of John Horne Tooke, as represented by Mr. Stephens, his biographer, that I am induced to insert the latter in this place, as showing a singular coincidence. It is as follows:

"It must be acknowledged, that he carried his personal enmities too far. I am well aware, however, it may be suggested by his admirers, that his animosities were chiefly of a political nature, and that his wrongs and sufferings had been great, uniform, and durable. There was at times, however, a certain degree of bitterness in his animosities, that it would have been far more philosophical, either to have mitigated or avoided.

He himself appears to have been sensible of this; for he allows "that he speaks too sharply for philosophy;" but it is added, that he disdained "to handle any useful truth daintily, as if he feared it should sting him."

On the other hand, the warmth of his temperament, perhaps, rendered him peculiarly susceptible of gratitude; for a sense of benefits is exhibited in general in the same proportion as a sense of wrongs. The fervor and uniformity of his friendships were also conspicuous; and thus, like most men of strong passions, he both loved and hated in extremes.

In political affairs, Mr. Tooke was prone to suspicion; and always seemed to think himself justified, on such occasions, to attribute the springs of human action to the worst motives.

When he found his jealousy realised, he would then freely indulge in his attacks, both personal and political; and on such occasions, no one was ever better calculated "to give the bastinado with his tongue."[1] Wit, ridicule, sarcasm, were

[1] King John, act 2, scene 2.

His view of the principles and powers of the constitution, appears to be equally correct and perspicuous. Upon the question of general warrants; of the rights of juries to return general verdicts, or in other words, to determine upon the law as well as upon the fact; of the unlimited power of lords chief justices to admit to bail; of the illegality of suspending acts of parliament by proclamation, we owe him much; he was a warm and rigid supporter of the co-extent, as well as co-existence of the three estates of the government, and it was from this principle alone he argued against the system of indefinite privilege as appertaining to either house individually; and as allowing it a power of arbitrary punishment, for what may occasionally be regarded as a contempt of such house, or a breach of such privilege.

The severity with which our author uniformly satirized every violation of public decorum, at least entitles him to public grati-

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each employed in its turn, and he would then address himself to the company, and affect to condemn his own suspicions in the language of his favourite bard:

> ——"I do beseech you,
> Though I—perchance, am vicious in my guess,
> (As I confess, it is my nature's plague,
> *To spy into abuses;* and oft, my jealousy
> Shapes faults that are not) that your wisdom yet,
> From one that so imperfectly conceits,
> Would take no notice.[2]"

[1] Gay, lively, and full of pleasantry in general conversation; on politics alone, he was bitter, vituperative, and inflexible. On those occasions, however, he seemed to be actuated solely by conviction; and it is no small praise that, without regarding popularity, he was constantly on the side of liberty.

That he who quarrelled with Mr. Wilkes for his bad faith; who attacked lord Mansfield for his illegal decisions; who opposed Mr. Fox on account of his coalition; and boldly, but fruitlessly urged the charge of apostacy against Mr. Pitt, should have created a multitude of enemies, cannot excite much surprise. This, perhaps, will assist in solving the paradox, by enabling us to discover why he who was uniform in his politics, should be detested for double dealing; why one, constantly actuated by principle, should be termed a hypocrite; and why a man attached to the constitution in all its forms, should be branded with the name of a republican."—*Am. Edit.*

[2] Othello, act 3, scene 3.

rude, and does credit to the purity of his heart: and if his morality may be judged of by various occasional observations and advices scattered throughout his private intercourse with Mr. Woodfall, it is impossible to do otherwise than approve both his principles and his conduct.

Whether the writer of these letters had any other and less worthy object in view than that he uniformly avowed, namely, a desire to subserve the best political interests of his country, it is impossible to ascertain with precision. It is unquestionably no common occurrence in history, to behold a man thus steadily, and almost incessantly, for five years, volunteering his services in the cause of the people, amidst abuse and slander from every party, exposed to universal resentment, unknown, and not daring to be known, without having any personal object to acquire, any sinister motive of individual aggrandisement or reward. Yet nothing either in his public or private letters affords us the remotest hint that he was thus actuated. Throughout the whole, from first to last, in the midst of all his warmth, and rancour, his argument and declamation, his appeal to the public, and his notes to his confidential friend, he seems to have been influenced by the stimulus of sound and genuine patriotism alone. With this he commenced his career, and with this he retired from the field of action, retaining, at least a twelvemonth afterwards, the latest period in which we are able to catch a glimpse of him, the same political sentiments he had professed on his first appearance before the world, and still ready to renew his efforts the very moment he could perceive they had a chance of being attended with benefit. Under these circumstances, therefore, however difficult it may be to acquit him altogether of personal considerations, it is still more difficult, and must be altogether unjust, ungenerous, and illogical to suspect his integrity.

It has often been said, from the general knowledge he has evinced of English jurisprudence, that he must have studied the law professionally: and in one of his private letters already quoted, he gives his personal opinion upon the mode in which the information of the king against Woodfall was drawn up, in a manner that may serve to countenance such an opinion.

To pursue this critique further would be to disparage the judgment of the reader. Upon the whole these letters, whether considered as classical and correct compositions, or as addresses of popular and impressive eloquence, are well entitled to the distinction they have acquired; and quoted as they have been, with admiration, in the senate by such nice judges and accomplished scholars as Mr. Burke and lord Eldon, eulogized by Dr. Johnson, and admitted by the author of the Pursuits of Literature, to the same rank among English classics as Livy or Tacitus among Roman, there can be no doubt that they will live commensurately with the language in which they are composed.

These few desultory and imperfect hints are the whole that the writer of this essay has been able to collect concerning the author of the Letters of Junius. Yet desultory and imperfect as they are, he still hopes that they may not be utterly destitute both of interest and utility. Although they do not undertake *positively* to ascertain who the author was, they offer a fair test to point out negatively who he was not; and to enable us to reject the *pretensions* of *a host* of persons, whose friends have claimed for them so distinguished an honor.

From the observations contained in this essay it would seem to follow unquestionably that the author of the letters of Junius was an Englishmen of high cultivated education, deeply versed in the language, the laws, the constitution and history of his native country: that he was a man of easy if not of affluent circumstances, of unsullied honor and generosity, who had it equally in his heart and in his power to contribute to the necessities of other persons, and especially of those who were exposed to troubles of any kind on his own account: that he was in habits of confidential intercourse, if not with different members of the cabinet, with politicians who were most intimately familiar with the court, and entrusted with all its secrets; that he had attained an age which would allow him, without vanity, to boast of an ample knowledge and experience of the world: that *during* the years 1767, 68, 69, 70, 71, and part of 1772, he resided almost constantly in London or its *vicinity*, devoting a very large portion of his time to political concerns, and publishing his political lucubrations, under different signatures, in the Public Advertiser: that

in his natural temper, he was quick, irritable and impetuous: subject to political prejudices and strong personal animosities: but possessed of a high independent spirit; honestly attached to the principles of the constitution, and fearless and indefatigable in maintaining them: that he was strict in his moral conduct, and in his attention to public decorum; an *avowed* member of the established church, and, though acquainted with English judicature, not a lawyer by profession.

What other characteristics he may have possessed we know not: but these are sufficient: and the claimant who cannot produce them conjointly is in vain brought forward as the author of the letters of Junius."

The foregoing appears to be a pretty fair description of Junius. There can, however, be no authority for saying that "he had it in his power to contribute to the necessities of others." Junius, to be sure, repeatedly gave out the idea of his being a man of wealth and rank, with a view, no doubt, of deceiving those who were anxious to ascertain his person; and the editor, in different parts of his Preliminary Essay, seems inclined to give currency to the assumption, as one means perhaps, of screening the true Junius from suspicion. For instance, in page 54, he says, "that he (Junius) was of some rank and consequence, must necessarily follow from the facility with which he acquired political information, and a knowledge of ministerial intrigues. In one place he expressly affirms that his 'rank and fortune place *him* above a common bribe:' in another, 'I should have hoped that even *my* name might carry some authority with it." Junius also writes to Woodfall, "in point of money, be assured you shall never suffer." But when Mr. Woodfall was prosecuted for printing the letter addressed to the king, what was the language of Junius!—"If your affair should come to a trial, and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls *particularly on yourself*: for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. *Some way or other* you shall be reimbursed. But seriously and *bona fide*, I think it is impossible."

This does not appear to be the language of a man who had much money at command. Although Junius might be a man

of the strictest honour, and although his talents as a party writer must have entitled him to considerable influence among monied men, yet his peculiar situation, as Junius, threw impediments in the way of exerting that influence.

The boastful language of Junius, by the way, accords exactly with that of Mr. Horne upon a similar occasion; that is, an occasion requiring deception in respect to the condition of the author to prevent detection. The work alluded to was entitled "The Petition of an Englishman." An anonymous pamphlet, published in 1765, and afterwards known to have been written by John Horne, as we are informed by his biographer. In this work the author says, "Even I, my countrymen, who now address myself to you—I, who am at present blessed with peace, with happiness, and *independence*, a fair character, and *an easy fortune*, am at this moment forfeiting them all.—Soon must I be beggared, vilified, imprisoned. The hounds of power will be unkennelled and laid upon the scent," &c.

It appears, by Stephens's Life of Horne, that his income amounted, at this time, to only "between two and three hundred pounds per annum."

Making it requisite for Junius to have resided *during* the year 1767, in London or its vicinity, is such a departure from fact, that I am surprised the editor should have relied so far upon the credulity of his readers, as to hazard the assertion. The work itself, which contains this unqualified declaration, gives the date of the first letter in the collection April 28th of that year; allowing four months wanting two days, for the absence of Junius during the specified time. The error appears to be too gross to have been committed without design. There is good reason to believe that the purpose intended by it was to exclude, from the number of candidates for the authorship of Junius's letters, a gentleman whom, I suspect, as before intimated, both the editor and proprietor of this publication knew to be the author, and who, it was well known, was in Italy during the fore part of that year, and till near the date of the first letter.

CHAPTER III.

Examination of the Claims of persons who have been named as the Author of these Letters.

"The persons to whom this honor has at different times, and on different grounds been attributed, are the following: Charles Lloyd, a clerk of the Treasury, and afterwards a deputy teller of the Exchequer: John Roberts, also a clerk in the Treasury at the commencement of his political life, but afterwards private secretary to Mr. Pelham: Samuel Dyer; William Gerard Hamilton; Edmund Burke; Dr. Butler, late bishop of Hereford; the R[illegible] Philip Rosenhagen; major-general Charles Lee; John Wilkes; Hugh Macauley Boyd; John Dunning, lord Ashburton; Henry Flood; and lord George Sackville."

In a work entitled "Literary Anecdotes of the Eighteenth century, by John Nicols—London, 1815," the author, speaking of the writings of Mr. Philip Thicknesse, vol. ix. p. 274, says: "In 1789, he also published Junius Discovered in the person of John Horne Tooke."

It may not be amiss here to notify the reader that "in 1782, Mr. John Horne assumed the additional name of Tooke."

Was there no motive for excluding this name from the above list? was not the editor aware that any attempt to refute the claims of Mr. Tooke would be attended with great embarrassment on his part? To write voluminously to invalidate the pretensions of those whom mere rumor had brought forward as candidates in this case, and to be silent in respect to one in whose favor a volume had been written, must be regarded with the strongest suspicion that all was not fair in this discussion; that something was concealed behind the curtain; in short, that the editor knew more of this affair than he was permitted to disclose.

What renders this omission of the name of Horne Tooke doubly suspicious is, that a *fac simile* of his hand-writing is in-

cluded among those adduced by Mr. Woodfall, of "gentlemen whose names have been mentioned as the author of the letters." That list contains *fac similes* of the hand-writing of Edmund Burke, Charles Lee, J. Dunning, Horne Tooke, W. G. Hamilton, John Wilkes, and Hugh M. Boyd. The pretensions of the whole of whom, excepting Mr. Tooke, are taken notice of in the Preliminary Essay. Why, it may be emphatically asked, was he passed by in silence? The reason, to my mind, is obvious. It was in accordance with the terms of the contract of Mr. Woodfall when he received from Junius the complete collection of his political works, prepared for the press.

Alexander Stephens, Esq., the biographer of Mr. Tooke, notices several distinguished writers cotemporary with him in the following manner:

"Perhaps this is the proper place for a short account of some of the men of letters of that day, who engaged in political controversy, and employed their pens either for or against the administration." Among those whom he mentions as being on the side of the opposition, was "Philip Thicknesse, so famous (he says) afterwards for his travels and his eccentricities. He had been an officer in his youth, and afterwards obtained the appointment of lieutenant-governor of Landguard Fort. He wrote on the same side, under the patronage of that great and good man, the first lord Camden, and, with several others, became proprietors of the Middlesex Journal, for the express purpose of using it as a vehicle of attack against the administration of that day."

Is it not astonishing that Mr. Stephens, in thus noticing this writer, should say nothing *pro* or *con* of the work intended to prove the subject of his memoirs to be the author of Junius's letters? But Mr. Stephens has not been entirely silent in regard to this subject. He has said, in different parts of his work, more than he intended should be understood; and by falsifying facts, even according to his own statements, for the purpose of screening his friend from suspicion, has fully established the point in my mind, that, in the memoirs of Mr. Tooke, he knew he was giving the life of Junius.

I have not yet been able to obtain the work alluded to, written by Mr. Thicknesse.

Sometime after the publication of the edition of Junius before us, which announces, in the clearest manner, the death of the author; when all was silent as the grave respecting the deceased as the real Junius; when the danger to be apprehended from a disclosure had passed away, a living candidate is introduced, who had been preparing himself for at least twenty years, by copying in his writings, passages from the letters of Junius, in order to be suspected to possess sufficient talents, and actually to have written those letters. Doctor Graham, in his Memoirs of John Horne Tooke, has rebutted his pretensions in an able manner, and, in the opinion of many, conclusively; I will, however, hereafter make some additional remarks on this claimant.

I shall now extract a few of the remarks of the editor respecting some of the persons mentioned above, particularly those whom Henry S. Woodfall declared positively had no claims to the authorship of these letters; as that goes far, in my opinion, to establish the fact of his knowledge of the author; and then the evasions and contradictions to be found in this edition may be reasonably accounted for.—Most of the above claimants are now entirely out of the question, and all arguments to refute their pretensions are sheer loss of time.

"Of the three first of these reputed authors of the letters of Junius, it will be sufficient to observe, without entering into any other fact whatever, that Lloyd was on his death-bed at the date of the last of Junius's private letters; an essay which has sufficient proof of having been written in the possession of full health and spirits; and which, together with the rest of our author's private letters to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, is in the possession of the proprietor of this edition, and bears date January 19, 1773. While as to Roberts and Dyer, they had both been dead for many months anterior to this period: Lloyd died, after a lingering illness, January 22, 1773; Roberts July 13, and Dyer on September 15, both in the preceding year."

Mr. Almon, in his edition of Junius, gives the following testimony respecting Lloyd, which appears to be conclusive against him:—

"CHARLES LLOYD,

secretary to Mr. Grenville, has been suspected, but his talents were inadequate to the composition of Junius. He wrote, indeed, some short letters and paragraphs in the newspapers, against the Rockingham administration; and some political pamphlets in the year 1765 and 1766, published by me. These last possessed a very small degree of literary merit, and consequently their circulation was very limited; but a few persons, knowing that he sometimes amused himself in that manner, upon no other foundation, raised this hypothesis. When Junius's letters first appeared, he was in a very bad state of health, and obliged to reside abroad; and he died a few months after their completion."

"The pretensions of the

REV. PHILIP ROSENHAGEN,

though adverted to in a preceding edition of these letters, are hardly worth noticing. It is sufficient to observe, that Mr. Rosenhagen, who was a school-fellow of Mr. H. S. Woodfall, continued on terms of acquaintance with him in subsequent life, and occasionally wrote for the Public Advertiser: but was repeatedly declared by Mr. Woodfall, who must have been a *competent evidence* as to the fact, not to be the author of Junius's letters.

Of all the pretenders however to the honor of having written the letters of Junius,

HUGH MACAULEY BOYD,

has been brought forward with the most confidence: yet of all of them, there is not one whose claims are so easily and completely refuted. It is nevertheless necessary, from the assurance with which they have been urged, to examine them with some degree of detail.

Hugh Macauley Boyd was an Irishman of a respectable family, who was educated for the bar, which he deserted, at an early age, for politics, and an unsettled life, that perpetually involved him in pecuniary distresses. In his public conversation he was an enthusiastic admirer of the style and principles of Junius; and in his political effusions he perpetually strove to imitate his manner: and, in many instances, copied his sen-

tences verbally. On this last account the three advocates for his fame, Almon who has introduced him into his Biographical Anecdotes, Campbell, who has published a Life of him and prefixed it to a new edition of 'Boyd's Works,' and George Chalmers, who has entered largely into the subject in his 'Appendix to the Supplemental Apology,' have strenuously contended that Boyd and Junius were the same person.

It is admitted that Boyd occasionally wrote passages of considerable merit; and it is admitted also, that he was an imitator of Junius's style, and a frequent copyist of his very words and images. But this last fact is against Boyd, instead of being in his favour; for the style of Junius is original and strictly his own, he is nowhere a copyist, and much less a copyist of himself. Boyd might characteristically write, as he has done in his Freeholder, "long enough have our eyes ached over this *barren prospect, where no verdure of virtue quickens*," because Junius before him had written, "I turn with pleasure from that *barren waste in which* no salutary plant takes root, *no verdure quickens*;" but Junius could not write so, because his genius was far too fertile for him to be driven to the dire necessity of copying from his own metaphors, and even had he done it in the present instance, he was too manly a writer to have introduced into the simile the affected and contemptible alliteration of "verdure of virtue."

If Boyd, therefore, wrote Junius, he must have been possessed of powers of which he has never otherwise given any evidence whatever, and must not only have *disguised his hand*, but as was well observed by the late Mr. W. Woodfall, have *disguised his style* at the same time; and this too "in that most extraordinary way of writing above his own reach of literary talent," judging of his abilities from every existing and *acknowledged* document To conceive that a man of versatile genius might disguise his accustomed style of writing by adopting some other style *on a level with his own*, is not difficult; but to conceive, under the circumstances of his *authenticated* talents, that Boyd could disguise his avowed style by assuming that of Junius, is to conceive, though the difference between them was not altogether so extreme, that a sign-post painter might disguise himself under

the style of Sir Joshua Reynolds, or a street-fiddler under that of Cramer.

There is, however, a note inserted in Junius's own edition of these letters, in relation to lord Irnham, and his baseness to a young and confidential friend, that has been conceived by these same gentlemen as almost decisive in favor of Boyd's pretensions; the young man here alluded to, having been one of Mrs. Boyd's guardians; the two families to which the fact relates, from the peculiar motives they possessed for keeping it a secret, not being supposed to have divulged it to any one, and Mrs. Boyd herself having only communicated it in strict confidence to her husband.

In point of fact, the anecdote here referred to, was publicly known and propagated not less than three years earlier than the first edition of the letters of Junius, in which it is introduced as a note. For it appears in a letter in the Public Advertiser of April 7, 1769, with the signature of *Recens*, written by this same Junius; from which the note in question is but a mere transcript, and given without altering a word. And yet Mr. Almon, in the preface to his own edition of Junius's letters, in which he has taken care to bestow abundant abuse on the Printer of the Public Advertiser and his brother, because they did not choose to unfold to him *all they were acquainted with on this subject*, has not scrupled to assert with his usual confidence, that "this note *certainly* was not written till after Junius having finally ceased to write under that signature, collected his letters and published them together, with many additions: which was in the course of 1772." This, however, is only one specimen of Mr. Almon's general accuracy in the prosecution of his favorite topic: yet it is useless to add more: the death of the writer has put him beyond all power of reply; nor should even this have been noticed, but to show how absurd were the pretensions of a man, so vain, so precipitate, and so incautious, to the character of an oracle upon this or any other subject: and how insolent it was in him to charge others with ignorance, incapacity and falsehood, who were *possessed of better sources of information*, and evinced a more punctilious adherence to truth.

From these three slender facts,—Boyd's imitation of the style of Junius, Almon's suspicion concerning his hand-writing, and the anecdote of lord Irnham, in conjunction with a few others of a nature merely collateral, and which, when separated from them, prove nothing whatever, these gentlemen undertake to "regard it as a moral certainty that Macauley Boyd did write the letters of Junius."

The late Mr. Woodfall, indeed, made no scruple of denying the assertion *peremptorily*, admitting at the same time, that he was not absolutely certain who did write them. But this testimony it seems, though from the printer of the letters themselves, and who, moreover, through the whole period of their publication, was in habits of confidential correspondence with the author, is of no consequence. Let us see by what curious process of logic this testimony is attempted to be invalidated; the reader will meet with it in Mr. Chalmers's pamphlet, who thus observes and reasons:

"A few weeks after the publication of Almon's Anecdotes, in 1797, H. S. Woodfall, meeting the anecdote writer at Longman's shop, complimented him on his entertaining book; 'but said that he was mistaken, in supposing Boyd to have been the author of Junius's letters: and then added, with an *emphasis*, that Mr. Boyd was not the author of them.' To these emphatical observations, Mr. Almon replied, 'that he had no doubt of Boyd's being the author of those letters; that as you, Mr. Woodfall, never knew who was the author, you cannot undertake to say who was *not* the author of those letters.' Mr. Woodfall departed without making any reply. What reply could he make? It is absurd in any man, who does not know the true author of Junius's letters to say, that Macauley Boyd was *not* the writer of them, in opposition to affirmative proofs. Yet, Mr. Woodfall afterwards told Mr. Campbell, that 'Mr. Boyd was *not* the writer of Junius's letters,' *without pretending*, however, that *he knew* the true author."

"Now every one who knew Mr. H. S. Woodfall, knew him also to be a man of strict unimpeachable veracity; a man who would not *have ventured to have spoken decisively* upon this or any other point, if he had not had very *sufficient grounds*. We

are asked what reply he could have made? and are told that his negative assertion was *absurd* against the *affirmative proofs* offered. These *affirmative proofs* have been already sufficiently noticed; our next business then is to state what reply Mr. Woodfall could have made if he had chosen, and perhaps would have made if he had been differently addressed."

Mr. Woodfall had, no doubt, sufficient reasons for speaking *decisively* upon this point; but, being conscious of having spoken too unguardedly, *departed* "without making any reply" to Mr. Almon. The editor here states at large what answer Mr. Woodfall could have made; among the rest, that "he knew Boyd to be an *imitator* and *copyist* of Junius; Junius to be no imitator or copyist of any man, and *least* of all of *himself*," &c. Giving indeed, arguments sufficiently cogent against Boyd; but still the embarrassment of Mr. Woodfall upon the occasion shows that his convictions rested upon other and stronger grounds than here taken, and which he could not declare.

Mr. Almon thus concludes his remarks in favor of Boyd, in his Preface to Junius:

"I cannot close this subject without saying a word respecting the Woodfalls, who have assumed a world of unreal consequence in the question. The fact is, that neither of them knew more about the person of Junius, than any body else did. The original manuscript may have been preserved; but their mysterious declaration that '*it will one day be known* that Mr. Boyd was *not* Junius,' is entirely empty and unmeaning. I believe they felt sufficiently exposed in the controversy on this subject which they carried on with me through the newspapers, in the month of August, 1799. I am confident that when the decease of the survivor of them,* or any other accident shall put their papers and their *secrets* into the power of others, if a ray of additional light is by such means thrown upon the question, it will but more fully, and perhaps conclusively, establish the opinion which I have now for six-and-thirty years entertained."

* "Henry Sampson, who (since Mr. Almon wrote this Preface) is also dead: and it is remarkable that he and Mr. Almon died on the same day."

Mr. Almon was, in my opinion, very much mistaken in this matter. Whenever any *accident* shall permit the present Mr. Woodfall to expose the *secrets* intrusted to his father as well as to himself, it will then be shown that the Woodfalls knew much more of this affair than Almon imagined. The declaration made by the Woodfalls, as reported by Almon, conveys the idea fully that they not only knew that Boyd was *not* Junius, but *who was*. It is the language of one having positive knowledge of a fact which he is not at liberty to divulge. I am the more anxious to establish this point, as it goes directly to prove who was the author of Junius's letters, as will more fully appear hereafter.

JOHN DUNNING, LORD ASHBURTON.

The following facts are extracted from the remarks of the editor, respecting Mr. Dunning: "He was solicitor-general at the time these letters first appeared, and for more than a twelvemonth afterwards. He was a man of high, unblemished honor, as well as high independent principles; it cannot therefore be supposed that he would have vilified the king, while one of his confidential servants and counsellors."

LORD GEORGE SACKVILLE.

The editor having overthrown all that opposed his progress till he met with lord George Sackville, and, not unwilling to protract the war, after giving him a single thrust, he permits him to escape to renew the contest at a future period. In fact, lord Sackville has been used by him as a stool-pigeon to betray the unwary, and many have thereby been cheated into a belief that he was the "real Junius." The conduct of the editor in this case tends to show (what I have before asserted) that he knew the author of Junius, and was consequently induced to practise the most deceptive arts to conceal that knowledge, and draw off the attention of the public from the person whom he was bound to protect from suspicion.

I shall now undertake to dissect and expose the following jesuitical remarks; which are the more inexcusable as the editor had previously declared, "that not one of these *pretenders* (including lord Sackville) ever had the *smallest pretensions* to the distinction which some of them had ardently coveted."

"Let us proceed to the pretensions that have been offered on the part of lord George Sackville as the real Junius. The evidence is somewhat *indecisive* even to the present hour. Sir William Draper divided his suspicions between this nobleman and Mr. Burke, and upon the personal and unequivocal denial of the latter, he transferred them entirely to the former: and that Sir William was not the only person who suspected his lordship even from the first, is evident from the private letter of Junius, which asserts that Swinney had actually called upon lord Sackville and *taxed him with being Junius to his face.*"

This was not the fact. The clause in the letter alluded to is as follows: "That Swinney is a wretched but dangerous fool. He had the impudence to go to lord G. Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to *ask* him *whether or no* he was the author of Junius—*take care of him.*"

In regard to lord Sackville and Mr. Draper, I will quote the remarks of Mr. Almon, who was a writer and publisher at the time in which Junius appeared, and therefore his testimony is entitled to great credit. In his edition of Junius, published in 1806, six years before that of G. Woodfall's, under consideration, after discussing the pretensions of sundry persons who had been suspected of writing the letters of Junius, he says, "The next person fixed upon was *lord viscount Sackville.*"

It is difficult to say how such an opinion could have *arisen*, or have been *entertained for a moment.* Lord Sackville was graciously received by his present majesty, from the day of his accession; and even appeared at the levee before the royal funeral had taken place, and while the late king lay dead in his chamber.

He was some years afterwards appointed secretary of state, and created an English peer. Such a person, so favoured, and so honored, was not likely to attack his royal master. Yet Sir William Draper, for *some weeks*, gave faith to this *idle report*, though he afterwards confessed himself *ashamed* of ever having been *duped* by it."

The editor proceeds, "This letter is, in fact, one of the most *curious* of the whole collection: *if written by lord George Sackville, it settles the point at once*: and if not written by him,

presupposes an acquaintance with his *lordship's family, his sentiments, and connexions, so intimate* as to excite no small degree of *astonishment!*" What could be more natural than for Sackville himself to mention this circumstance, by which means it would probably soon come to the ears of Junius? or, for Swinney, who seems to have been a *busy-body*, to have boasted of having put this question home to his lordship? But, the editor, says, if this letter was "written by lord George Sackville, it settles the point at once." Certainly! the letter was known to be written by Junius from its contents, and moreover contained his private signature, C. And therefore, if Sackville wrote it, he must undoubtedly be Junius! The cause which he had undertaken to promote, can alone excuse the learned Dr. Good for making use of this truism.

"Junius was informed of Swinney's having called upon lord George Sackville, a *few hours* after his call, and he *knew* that *before this time* he had never spoken to him in his life."

This is the reverse of Falstaff's men in buckram; here is a diminution. If Dr. Good had turned back to page 23 of the same volume in which the above appears, he would have found that he there stated the occurrence as follows: "This anecdote is not a little *curious:* the fact was true, and occurred but *a day or two* before the letter was written; but how Junius, unless he had been lord Sackville himself, should have been so soon acquainted with it, *baffles all conjecture!!*"

A *day* or *two* is an indefinite mode of expression, and is commonly used to denote several days, more or less. Thus by extending the *few hours* here mentioned between Swinney's call and the letter of Junius to the actual time, they would probably amount to six or seven days, and this pretended *astonishment* vanishes at once.

How did the editor ascertain that Swinney, before this time, had never spoken to lord Sackville in his life? Junius said so: but that is no proof. Mr. Charles Butler informed Mr. Barker, (see Barker's "Claims," Preface, p. 63, and Text, p. 294.) "that the Mr. Swinney, who is mentioned in Junius's letters, was a clergyman, who had been attached as chaplain to one of the regiments serving in Germany, at the time lord George Sackville was

commander-in-chief; and that upon his return to England, he was frequently in the treasury and its environs; and that he was a carrier of intelligence to and from different persons." This, at any rate, presupposes an acquaintance with Sackville before the occurrence mentioned above.

"It is certain then, that lord George Sackville was *early* and *generally* suspected, that Junius knew him to be suspected without denying, as in the case of the author of the 'Whig, &c.' that he was suspected wrongfully; and that this nobleman, if not Junius himself, must have been in habits of close and intimate friendship with him. The talents of lord George Sackville were well known and admitted, and his political principles led him to the same side of the question that was so warmly espoused by Junius. It is said, however, that on one occasion his lordship privately observed to a friend of his, 'I should be proud to be capable of writing as Junius has done; but there are many passages in his letters I should be very sorry to have written.' Such a declaration, however, is too general to be in any way conclusive: even Junius himself might, in a subsequent period, have regretted that he had written some of the passages that occur in his letters. In the case of his letter to Junia, we know he did from his own avowal. It is nevertheless peculiarly hostile to the opinion in favor of lord George Sackville, that Junius should roundly have accused him of want of courage, as he has done in Vol. II. p. 180. The facts, however, are fairly before the reader, and he shall be left to the exercise of his own judgment."

The artifice and dissimulation exhibited in the foregoing observations on lord Sackville are too apparent to escape the notice of the most inattentive reader, and can only be accounted for on the supposition of secret views before alluded to.

That Sackville "was early and *generally* suspected," is an assertion unsupported by the least testimony; and if any faith can be placed in Mr. Almon's statement, was not true. As a further proof of its improbability, the testimony of Sackville's private secretary, as cited by Mr. Coventry, may be produced

See Junius Unmasked, p. 63, where it is stated that "Charles Cumberland, his secretary, says, 'I never heard that my friend, lord George Germain* was amongst the suspected authors till by *way of jest he told me a few days before his death*: I did not want him to disavow it, for there could be no occasion to disprove an absolute impossibility."

If this suspicion was general, is it likely that the private secretary of lord Sackville would be ignorant of it?

As to the talents of Sackville, Mr. Barker, in commenting upon an article on Junius in the Edinburgh Review, for June, 1826, (see Barker's "Claims," p. 247,) says "The remark, 'that the general vigor of a man's mental powers affords little more proof that he would be a good writer, than that he could be a good painter,' aims a decisive blow against the claims made for lord George Sackville, whose very defence on his trial is stated by Cumberland to have been the composition of Dr. Shebbeare, who was rewarded for it with 1000*l.*

Mr. Taylor (see "Junius Identified," p. 64,) says, "This nobleman has been suspected by many to be the author of Junius;" (that is after the publication of the records in this Essay) "but exclusive of other cogent reasons to the contrary, he was so *defective* in literary attainments, as to be even *incapable* of writing good English. See a letter of his inserted in the second edition of Woodfall's Junius. See also Sir N. Wraxall's character of his lordship, and Cumberland's eulogy on viscount Sackville, inserted in Collins's Peerage, last edition, where this description is confirmed beyond all dispute."

Mr. Coventry, (see "Junius Unmasked," p. 47,) says, "I am aware, that Richard Cumberland, who was secretary under Sackville, has expressed his belief that his lordship was deficient in classical attainments, and was incapable of writing the letters of Junius."

To suppose that Junius, if he had been questioned as Sack-

* Sackville, "in 1769, took the name of Germain in consequence of the will of lady Betty Germain, who bequeathed to him [her grandson] personal property besides valuable estates at Drayton in Northamptonshire."

ville was, would have written to his printer, whom he endeavored to keep in ignorance of his person, in the manner he did, is to attribute to him a want of common understanding. It would have been almost pointing himself out in direct terms.

Lord Sackville was early initiated into military life. In 1737, "at the age of twenty-one (says Mr. Coventry in his memoirs) he obtained a commission in the army; and in 1758 was appointed a lieutenant-general. August 1, 1759, was fought the battle of Minden, at which he was accused of disobeying the orders of prince Ferdinand. He was degraded from office by a court-martial, and adjudged unfit to serve his majesty in any military capacity whatever."

To this passage Junius alludes in the passage referred to by the editor as accusing him of *want of courage*. The allusion is made in one of the miscellaneous letters, dated Oct. 22, 1767. It is composed in satirical dialogue; in which one of the speakers is made to say, "I believe the best thing I can do will be to consult with my lord George Sackville. His character is known and respected in Ireland as much as it is here; and I know he loves to be stationed in the *rear* as well as myself." It is not very probable that *general* Sackville would allude to his own disgrace in this manner.

It is remarked in Mr. Barker's work, and I should suppose very justly, that any one the least acquainted with the habits and mode of life of an English nobleman of fortune, would be convinced that none of that class would submit to the drudgery to which Junius must have subjected himself.

I had prepared extracts from the speeches of lord Sackville in parliament, as well as traits of character taken from his memoirs, to show that neither his talents nor character justified the least suspicion that he was Junius; but, upon reflection, concluded that any further notice of him in relation to this subject would be deemed superfluous.

CHAPTER IV.

Claims of Sir Philip Francis to the Authorship of Junius's Letters, examined.

I shall now take notice of the claims of a gentleman who has gained, probably, more proselytes than any competitor that has entered the lists of fame in the long and arduous contest for the authorship of Junius's letters. This he has effected by the easiest possible means; not, like Boyd, by fruitless attempts to imitate the style of Junius, but by fairly copying his expressions verbatim, with a few transpositions of words in some cases. The experiment was bold and hazardous, and therefore entitles the writer to the greater credit for the success attending it. The gentleman to whom I allude is Sir Philip Francis.

The author of the foregoing Essay said, that 'Junius was no imitator or copyist of any man, and least of all of *himself*.' But if Mr. Francis was Junius, Junius has copied, on different occasions, nearly all the forcible expressions contained in his celebrated letters.

The Edinburgh Review for June, 1826, (see Barker's "Claims," p. 246,) observes, that "Some resemblance of style in Francis, is a very inconsiderable argument; for almost every contributor to a newspaper, during the twenty years, which followed the letters, was an imitator of Junius."—"The article whence this extract is taken, is understood (says Mr. Barker) to have been the composition of Sir James Mackintosh."

It does not, however, appear that Mr. Francis had recourse to this expedient. He seems to have staked his reputation of authorship upon liberal drafts from the letters themselves, instead of endeavoring to imitate their style.

The writer who has brought forward this candidate, is Mr. John Taylor, in a work entitled, "Identity of Junius," &c., as mentioned at the commencement of this volume. From this work I shall make considerable extracts.

"No person, at the present day," says Mr. Taylor, "could expect to find in the avowed productions of Junius any clue, that would directly lead to a discovery of the author. Had this knowledge been attainable from the letters which have hitherto appeared under his name, the curiosity of the public would long since have received its gratification: but, *qui nescit dissimulare nescit vivere*, was a maxim too well understood by the writer, to admit of his forgetting it on such important occasions. The only prospect of obtaining light on the subject consisted, therefore, in those private and miscellaneous letters which have recently made their appearance. To these my attention was more particularly directed by common curiosity, without any expectation of finding out the writer. In this quarter, however, those passages were observed, which gave rise to the present investigation.

Nearly at the end of the third volume, I was struck with the unparalleled zeal which the writer displayed in the cause of two individuals belonging to the War-office. It appeared that Mr. D'Oyley, a clerk in that establishment, had a short time before been deprived of his situation, through the interference of lord Barrington: and the writer of the letter to which I allude, desires Mr. Woodfall to inform the public, 'that the worthy lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the War-office, had at last contrived to expel Mr. Francis.' The editor states in a note, that this was the present Sir Philip Francis. Surprised at the occurrence of this name, and at an interference so extraordinary, I began to consider whether Sir Philip might not have been the writer. His general character for politics and literature proved him to possess the requisite qualifications; and on reference to his Life in the Public Characters, I saw sufficient evidence, as I thought, to confirm my conjecture. The impression made by the facts there related, was strengthened by a comparison of style. From these materials a statement was drawn up, entitled a Discovery of the Author of the Letters.

Before it went to press, I requested a friend to call on Sir Philip Francis, and inform him, that if he had the slightest objection to have his name connected with the investigation, he might

rely on the total suppression of the work. I am satisfied this communication was made in a way which must have convinced Sir Philip that it proceeded solely from a respect for his feelings, and that what was proposed would be performed. It was perhaps due to him that not a step should be taken without his permission; nor could his refusal betray him into an implied admission of the truth of the charge. A simple negative would leave it still undetermined, whether his aversion proceeded from a dread of the disclosure,—or from a tender respect for his father's memory,—or from a reasonable dislike to that free discussion of his own character and qualifications, which the question of necessity required. His reply was liberal enough. 'You are quite at liberty to print whatever you think proper, provided nothing *scandalous* be said respecting *my private character*."

Very *liberal* indeed! Mr. Francis has no objection to be considered the author of Junius's letters, provided no reflections be cast upon Junius, calculated to injure his private character. After this unequivocal permission to use his name in the manner proposed, no mawkish, half-way denial can have the least weight. The book was out; the die was cast; and whether Mr. Philips commented upon the work or not, was probably indifferent to Mr. Francis.

Mr. Taylor must excuse me, but I do seriously suspect that the materials for his statement, were in great part furnished by Mr. Francis himself, through the mutual friend above mentioned, though without the knowledge of the former. The labor of searching out the parallels here exhibited, would have been immense to any other man than Mr. Francis; who probably knew where to put his hand upon each similitude, and it does seem, would not have been undertaken by a disinterested person.

"Soon after the appearance of the pamphlet, the editor of the Monthly Magazine, intending to notice it in that work, wrote to Sir Philip Francis, to ask him whether the conjecture was correct. The editor did not recollect the distinction drawn by that strict moralist, Dr. Johnson, between spontaneous and extorted acknowledgments; or, probably, he would not have taken the trouble to make this application

It suits neither my purpose nor my inclination to give a false coloring to this singular affair. The following extract from the Monthly Magazine, will show the reader the exact nature of the question put to Sir Philip Francis, and in what *guarded* terms he couched his reply.

Speaking of the pamphlet which contains the charge, 'We confess, (says the editor of the Magazine,) 'we were at first startled by this hypothesis, from its temerity; because, if not true, Sir Philip Francis would be able by a word to disprove it: and it could not be supposed that so much labour and expense would be hazarded except on indubitable grounds. To be able therefore to render this article as conclusive as possible, we addressed Sir Philip Francis on the subject, in the way the least likely to render the inquiry offensive; and in reply received the following epistle, which we insert at length, in justice to Sir Philip and the public."

'Sir,—The great civility of your letter induces me to answer it, which, with reference merely to its subject matter, I should have declined. Whether you will assist in giving currency to a silly, malignant falsehood, is a question for your own discretion. To me it is a matter of perfect indifference.

'I am, Sir, yours &c.

'P. FRANCIS.

'To the Editor of The Monthly Magazine.'

I need not ask the reader whether this letter is evasive or not.

He will perhaps wonder how any one could have been misled by it for a moment. Sir Richard Philips, however, with a simplicity that does him honor, did not perceive the futility of this pretended disavowal, though he had just stated, properly enough, that if the hypothesis were "not true, Sir Philip Francis would be able, by *a word*, to disprove it." It certainly is not so disproved, and we are therefore authorised to conclude that it could not fairly be disputed. No man, who had it in his power to give a simple negative to such a question, would have had recourse to an *innuendo*. The only surprising part of the transaction is, that any answer should have been returned by one who knew that he could not send a better; but perhaps Sir Philip had no suspicion that it would be printed *verbatim* in

the Monthly Magazine. He must have thought the editor of that publication would state the denial in his own way, and that if an impression were made on his mind in the first instance, the public would be convinced at second hand.

Without supposing this, we are involved in a difficulty of a very peculiar kind: the abundance of the evidence being actually in danger of stifling the charge. For it would appear, that if Sir Philip calculated upon his own reply being given to the public, he could scarcely have taken a more effectual step to make the world believe he was Junius. His unequivocal affirmation of the fact would not have been so directly convincing, since there exists no reason why the author whoever he be, should now make that disclosure which he had resolved to withhold for ever; and unless some sufficient motive apparently urged him to a public acknowledgment, his claiming it would but subject him to the imputation of unfounded pretensions.

On the other hand, to deem the evasion unintentional, is not only affronting to the understanding of Sir Philip, but at variance with every trait in his character."

I shall here give the letter entire that first excited in the mind of Mr. Taylor a suspicion that Philip Francis was the author of Junius's letters. It was dated two months after Junius ceased to write under that signature. If, therefore, Francis was angry at being dismissed from the war-office, its occurrence happened too late to have caused him to compose these letters, as they were all written while he was busily employed in the service of government, and had not then, probably, time at his command to read, much less to write them. It was not requisite for lord Barrington to dismiss one or two clerks from his office to excite the ire of Junius, although he made it a sham pretext for abusing him. D'Oyley and Francis were, perhaps, not even known to Junius. That he was a stranger to D'Oyley, is evident from his not mentioning his name in the first letter in which he takes notice of the appointment of Chamier, who succeeded to his place. He abuses Barrington for appointing this man, but says nothing of his predecessor.

whom he pretends afterwards to have found to be a most excellent character.

Junius, long before he wrote the letter in question, had made reiterated attacks upon lord Barrington. He had addressed four letters directly to him, under the same signature of Veteran; in one of which he accuses him of having "urged and exhorted the guards to embrue their hands in the blood of their fellow-subjects in St. George's Fields." In another he says, "When the bloody Barrington, that silken, fawning courtier at St. James's—that stern and insolent minister at the war-office, is pointed out to universal contempt and detestation, you smile, indeed, but the last agonies of the hysteric passion are painted in your countenance. Your cheek betrays what passes within you, and your whole frame is in convulsions." And afterwards in a letter signed Nemesis, he says, "For this man (lord Barrington) it was reserved, to give it under his hand, that he rejoiced and exulted in the blood of his fellow-subjects. This stroke alone would be sufficient to determine his character."

Junius accompanied the first letter to lord Barrington, in the series under the signature of Veteran, with a private note to Woodfall, dated Jan. 25, 1772, in which he says, "Having nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public with torturing that ********** Barrington. He has just appointed a French broker his deputy, for no reason but his relation to Bradshaw. I hear from all quarters that it is looked upon as a most impudent insult to the army.—Be careful not to have it known to come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of Junius."

This letter is dated just four days after the date of the last letter signed Junius; and it seems the author wanted something to do. But Mr. Francis, who was then snug in the war-office, where he had, no doubt, full employment, could not, with any propriety, have expressed himself in the manner Junius did. Nor would he probably have had the consummate vanity to show such contempt for the deputy secretary at war, when he held a place in the same department of inferior grade.

In a private letter to Woodfall, dated Feb. 22, Junius says, "The appointment of this broker, I am told, gives universal

disgust. That ———— would never have taken a step apparently so absurd, if there were not some wicked design in it more than we are aware of. At any rate the broker should be run down. That, at least, is due to his master."

Here the views of Junius are fully developed. It was not to benefit the servants, but to injure the master, that he took notice of these displacements. The case of poor Francis is not even alluded to in these private communications.

But it is time to give the letter that has caused so much trouble to Mr. Taylor.

"TO THE PRINTER OF THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

March 23, 1772.

"Sir,—I desire you will inform the public, that the worthy Lord Barrington, not contented with having driven Mr. D'Oyley out of the war-office, has at last contrived to expel Mr. Francis. His lordship will never rest till he has cleared his office of every gentleman who can either be serviceable to the public, or whose honor and integrity are a check upon his own dark proceedings. Men, who do their duty with credit and ability, are not proper instruments for lord Barrington to work with. He must have a broker from 'Change Alley for his deputy, and some raw, ignorant boy for his first clerk. I think the public have a right to call upon Mr. D'Oyley and Mr. Francis to declare their reasons for quitting the war-office. Men of their unblemished character do not resign lucrative employments without some sufficient reasons. The conduct of these gentlemen has always been approved of, and I know that they stand as well in the esteem of the army, as any persons in their station ever did. What then can be the cause that the public and the army should be deprived of their service? There must certainly be something about lord Barrington which every honest man dreads and detests. Or is it that they cannot be brought to connive at his jobs and underhand dealings? They have too much honor, I suppose, to do some certain business by *commission*. They have not been educated in the conversation of Jews and gamblers;—they have had no experience at Jonathan's;—they know nothing of the stocks; and therefore lord Barrington drives them out of the war-office. The army indeed is come

to a fine pass, with a gambling broker at the head of it!—What signifies ability, or integrity, or practice, or experience in business. Lord Barrington feels himself uneasy while men with such qualifications are about him. He wants nothing in his office but ignorance, impudence, pertness, and servility. Of these commodities he has laid in a plentiful stock, that ought to last him as long as he is Secretary at war. Again, I wish that Mr. Francis and Mr. D'Oyley would give the public some account of what is going forward in the war-office. I think these events so remarkable, that some notice ought to be taken of them in the House of Commons. When the public loses the service of two able and honest servants, it is but reasonable that the wretch, who drives such men out of a public office, should be compelled to give some account of himself and his proceedings. VETERAN."

AN ABSTRACT OF MEMOIRS OF SIR PHILIP FRANCIS, K. B.

"These memoirs, (says Mr. Barker, p. 158) of which Mr Taylor observes that the author evidently had good 'authority for all he says,' were inserted in the Monthly Mirror for May and June, 1810; and I do not scruple to declare my full conviction that they bear internal and *unequivocal* traces of Sir Philip's own pen."—It is hardly possible that any man would speak of another in the ridiculous and fulsome manner in which these memoirs are written. I am therefore fully of opinion with Mr. B., that Mr. Francis was his own trumpeter. The trifling and minute circumstances here detailed, could not have been known to any other person. The vanity, therefore, of Sir Philip, which is said to have been unbounded, can alone account for this inflated production.

"The origin of this gentleman is not, like that of some of the greatest names of antiquity, buried in the impenetrable obscurity of unrecorded ages. He was born in Dublin on the 22nd of October, 1740, old style. His father, Philip Francis, D. D. is sufficiently known in the learned world. His grandfather, John Francis, was dean of the cathedral of Lismore in Ireland, to which he was appointed on the 30th of July, 1722, and his great-grandfather, John Francis, became dean of Leighlin, by

patent, dated 21st of August, 1696, and appears, by Ware's History of Ireland, to have sat in convocation in Dublin, in 1704. This old gentleman is also *supposed* to have had a father, whose name and memory are unfortunately lost in the abyss of time. These particulars have been carefully collected from the herald's offices in Doctor's Commons, and in Dublin. In the former, it was discovered by a great antiquary, whose business it was to find materials for the pedigree of Sir Philip, on his admission to the order of the Bath, that previous to the coronation of Richard II., Richard Francis, who bore exactly the same arms as the present knight, was created a knight of the Bath, and if Sir Philip does not descend lineally from that person, it was entirely his own fault. The heralds offered to prove it by an exact genealogy, provided always that Sir Philip would pay down two hundred pounds for such advantage. After maturely weighing the honor against the price, he is believed to have declined that liberal offer. His mother's name *appears* to have been Elizabeth Roe, whose father *thought* himself descended from the famous Sir Thomas Roe, who lived in the reign of James the First, and was sent ambassador to the *Great Mogul*, by that *learned* monarch. But here again the links are wanting, or the heralds ran mute for want of encouragement.

Sir Philip received the first elements of his education under Thomas Ball, who succeeded Dr. Dunkin, (names well known in Ireland) and who kept a school in a church in Ship-street. In the beginning of 1750 he came to England. In 1753 he was placed at St. Paul's-school, under the care of Mr. George Thicknesse, of whose virtues and learning we have often heard him make honorable mention, and always with an effusion of gratitude for the care he took of him. In 1756, Mr. Henry Fox, afterwards lord Holland, gave him a *little* place in the Secretary of State's office. Mr. Pitt, who succeeded Mr. Fox, patronised and encouraged him, in consequence of the recommendation of his secretary, Robert Wood. Through that patronage he was appointed secretary to General Bligh, in 1758, was present at the capture and demolition of Cherburgh, and at the attack on the rear guard of our army at St. Cas. From *mere curiosity*, and without arms, he was found standing in the

ranks when the French approached *very near*, and the firing began. In 1760, by the same recommendation, he was appointed secretary to the earl of Kinnoul, ambassador to Lisbon, when the present queen of Portugal was married to her uncle. The uncle and the niece had a son, the present prince of the Brazils, who married his mother's sister. Such is the constitution of the house of Braganza. In 1763 he was appointed by the late lord Mendip, then Welbore Ellis, Esq. and Secretary at War, to a considerable post in the War-office, which he resigned in 1772, in consequence of a difference with viscount Barrington, by whom he thought himself injured. Possibly lord Barrington thought so too, or that something was due to Mr. Francis, as will appear hereafter. The greatest part of the year 1772 he spent in travelling through Flanders, part of Germany, the Tyrol, Italy, and France, with his intimate friend, the late David Godfrey. During his residence at Rome he went to Castel Gondolfo, where he was introduced to Pope Ganganelli, and had a *curious* conference with his holiness, of near two hours, the particulars of which are, it is said, preserved in a letter from him to the late Dr. Campbell,* with whom he was very intimate. In about half a year after his return to England, lord Barrington most honorably and generously recommended him to lord North, by whom his name was inserted in an act of parliament, passed in June, 1773, to be a member of the council appointed for the government of Bengal, in conjunction with Warren Hastings, governor-general; John Clavering, commander-in-chief; George Monson; and Richard Barwell.

The records of his long contest with Mr. Hastings are preserved in the books of the council, the reports of the committee, and in the journals of the House of Commons.

On the dissolution of parliament in 1784, he was elected for Yarmouth, in the Isle of Wight.

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* "I recommend to Mr. Taylor, to endeavor to obtain a sight of this letter; I have made the endeavor without success. A sight of this letter written in the same year, in which Junius ceased to write, would afford to us some little criterion for judging of the style and the abilities of Sir Philip; and a much safer criterion than any of those published writings of his, the earliest of which appeared several years after Junius ceased to write."—Barker, p. 157.

On the 19th of April, 1787, he moved the revenue charge against Mr. Hastings, and carried it against Mr. Pitt, the whole strength of government, and the Indian interest, by a majority of seventy-one to fifty-five. Mr. Pitt was determined to be even with him, and on the 11th of December, 1787, employed two of his dependants to move that his name should be omitted, when the managers to conduct the impeachment were appointed, and he himself had nothing better to say than 'that it was a question not of argument but of feeling.'

On this occasion, the managers of the impeachment thought it an act of justice and gratitude due to Mr. Francis, to address the following letter to him.

Committee-room, House of Commons, Dec. 18. 1787.

'Sir,—There is nothing in the orders of the house which prevents us from resorting to your assistance; and we should show very little regard to our honor, to our duty, or to the effectual execution of our trust, if we omitted any means that are left in our power, to obtain the most beneficial use of it.

An exact local knowledge of the affairs of Bengal is requisite in every step of our proceedings: and it is necessary that our information should come from sources not only competent but unsuspected.'"

Here follow sentiments very flattering to the vanity of Sir Philip, evidently intended to soothe his mortification at being rejected from the committee, and to induce him to give to the managers of the impeachment all the information in his possession. The letter concludes as follows:

"Entreating you to favor us, as frequently as you can, with your assistance in the committee; and you shall have due notice of the days on which your advice and instructions may be more particularly necessary.

Having given the evidences in favor of Mr. Francis, we should act partially and unfairly, though without a personal motive of any kind, if we did not state *per contra*, what has been said of him by a person, who, after making a great noise in the world, seems now to be lost and forgotten, and who certainly must have known whether what he said of him was true or false. In the Appendix, No. XI. to the fifth Report of the select com-

mittee, in 1782, there is a minute of Mr. Hastings, communicated to Mr. Francis, on the night of the 14th of August, 1780, in which he says—

'My authority for the opinions which I have declared concerning Mr. Francis, depends on facts which have passed within my own certain knowledge. I judge of his public conduct by my experience of his private, which I have found to be *void of truth and honor*. This is a severe charge, but temperately and deliberately made, from the firm persuasion that I owe this justice to the public and to myself, as the only redress to both for artifices, of which I have been a victim, and which threaten to involve their interests with disgrace and ruin. The only redress for a fraud, for which the law has made no provision, is the exposure of it.'

These *innendos* were immediately followed by a challenge from Mr. Francis. They met on the 17th of August, and he was shot through the body for his trouble. Whatever might be the artifices employed by the cold, plotting treachery of Mr. Francis, to circumvent a man so artless and free from guile as Mr. Hastings, *homo simplex et incautus*, it is plain from the event, that Mr. Hastings was not the victim of them."

Mr. Hastings, although he was not shot, may have been the victim of the treachery of Mr. Francis.—There is a show of impartiality, to be sure, in introducing the allegations of Mr. Hastings upon this occasion. It was also calculated to prevent suspicion falling upon Mr. Francis as the writer of this memoir: and besides, reminded the public at the same time of his undoubted courage. A fact that he seemed anxious should be understood.

"On the 29th of October, 1806, his Majesty, at the recommendation of lord Grenville, was pleased to invest Mr. Francis with the expensive honor of the order of the Bath. A wiser man would have preferred some profit to so much honor, or have contrived, by the usual courses, to have united them: and especially as he professes, and has publicly declared that, since 1770, he has never received a shilling of the public money of England, in any shape, or on any account.

This is but a slight sketch of the subject, and a very hasty view of the person. The public life of such a man, so well acquainted with the principal persons of his time, and intimate with many of them, conversant in all the transactions of his country, and mixed in some of them, though barren of events for the Gazette, would be interesting and instructive, if it were undertaken and *executed by himself*. The history of an ardent mind in perpetual action or pursuit, never succeeding, but never courting repose or yielding to despondence, could not fail to communicate a projectile motion to other minds in parallel directions, and to similar objects. They would see that success is not necessary to happiness, much less *to honor*, and that he, who contends against adversity and persists without hope, cannot be wholly disappointed.

"Human virtue should be encouraged to believe, what this man's life has proved to be true, that, in some shape or other, though not in prosperity, there is a reward for perseverance in *doing right*.

> 'Though still by folly, vice, and faction crost,
> He finds the generous labour was not lost.'

"The *approbation* of posterity would be no *recompense* if it could not be *anticipated*. The posthumous praise, the statue, and the monument, are incentives to others, but are *lost* upon the dead. *He* virtually and immediately receives the tribute, who *is sure* it will be paid to his memory;

> 'Enjoys the honours destin'd to his name,
> And lives *instanter* with his future fame.'"

The remark in the last paragraph, that the approbation of posterity would be no recompense "if it could not be anticipated," seems to indicate that Mr. Francis was determined not to quit this mortal scene without the enjoyment of this luxury. He was now seventy years of age, and probably thought no time was to be lost if he calculated on leaving a great name for the admiration of posterity; and aware of the old adage, that "nobody speaks well of a person who does not speak well of himself," he resolved not to suffer through his own neglect.

"Thus far proceeds the author of the Memoirs, evidently with good authority for all he says: so that if any thing adverse to our view appears on the face of this record, there can be no contending with it. Of equal validity is what fell from Sir Philip in the course of a speech on India affairs, when he gave a short account of "such particular circumstances of his public life as bore any relation to his going to India, his conduct there, and his conduct since his return to England." As this account will throw additional light upon the information derived from his biographer, it is useful to our present inquiry. Mr. Francis observed, "That he had been bred up in the secretary of state's office, where he had the happiness to possess the favour of the late Earl of Egremont, then secretary of state. That in 1763, Mr. Ellis had appointed him to fill a station of great trust in the war-office; that lord Barrington, who succeeded Mr. Ellis, had recommended him to a noble lord (whose absence, and more particularly the cause of it, he very sincerely lamented) as a fit person to be sent out to India as a member of the government of Bengal: till that recommendation, he had not the honor of being known to lord North. He had, therefore, obtained a seat in the council of Calcutta, not through any *private interest* or *intrigue*, but he was taken up upon *recommendation*, and *that* the recommendation of persons of *high rank*, those who *best knew his character and qualifications*, and who certainly would not have so far disgraced themselves as to have recommended an improper person, knowing him to be such, to go out to India in a station of *so much power and importance*. He had, accordingly, been nominated with general Clavering and colonel Monson, in the bill of 1773."

Mr. Francis must have possessed unbounded merit according to his own account; but certainly his pretensions would be entitled to more respect if set forth by any other person than himself. "This statement, however, (Mr. Barker observes, p. 162.) is directly opposed to the hypothesis of Mr. Taylor, who in that appointment unwarrantably traces the *silenced* and *bribed* Junius. Mr. Butler, in his reminiscences, writes thus: 'The reminiscent has been informed by the present (late) bishop of Durham, that Sir Philip owed the continuance of his seat in the war-

office to the kindness of lord Barrington, the prelate's brother; and his appointment in India was chiefly, if not wholly, due to his lordship's recommendation of him to lord North. After this, if we consider how Junius wrote of lord Barrington, we cannot be surprised that, if Sir Philip were the author of Junius's letters, he should wish to be unknown.' But, on the contrary, Mr. Francis seems to wish it to be believed that he was the author.

The long sacerdotal race through which Sir Philip traces his pedigree, in a country where church and state are united, in my opinion, forms the only rational clue to this extraordinary appointment.

"The same work to which we are indebted for the *authentic* biography of Sir Philip Francis, contains a critique on his character as an author, which in every respect may be considered as a fit companion for the preceding. If our conjecture be well founded, the two portraits should be strikingly alike, though they vary in the time of life, and are sketched by different hands: let the reader compare them, and see whether they do not fulfil this expectation.

'The works of Sir Philip Francis resemble in a great measure, those of Lord Bacon, of whom it was said, that *no man crammed so much meaning into so few words*, or, as Edmund Burke, said of his style, *there is no gummy flesh in it.* His language is figurative and expressive in perfection. You never doubt about his meaning. *In argument, he lightens rather than reasons on his subject. Vivid flashes from his mind, in rapid succession, illuminate the question, not by formal induction, but by uniform splendour and irresistible corruscation.*'

'His style is so perfectly *musical*, and moves to such a sprightly, animated, and interesting measure, that, as it has been observed of Greek, there would be *a delight* in hearing it read, even if one did not understand it. The sentences are so constructed that they roll down of themselves, and, like Sisyphus's stone, the moment they reach the bottom, *rebound*, and *mount* again on the other side.

'This excellence is not, however, produced by a sacrifice to pedantic or affected phrases. The essence of language is to be

intelligible. New-fangled terms, and sesquipedalian words, may please fools, and deceive them into a belief that they cover sense; but sense, were it ever so accompanied, would be disgraced by such ornaments. *As* Sir Philip *has a fine ear for the collocation of words, so has he a true taste in their selection.* The first of Latin critics has said: "*Utinam ut verba in usu quotidiano posita minus timeremus.*"* Our author has felt the weight of that remark, and by it acquired a *noble simplicity of expression, worthy of his thoughts. Every thing in his writings, whether profound or otherwise, is plain and clear.* He that runs may read, and dulness itself may comprehend.'† "

"Even this critique on his writings (Mr. Barker observes) is manifestly drawn from Sir Philip's own well;" and adds, "In confirmation of our opinion that the Memoirs emanated from Sir Philip, we may remark that the same periodical, which had in 1810 inserted them, contains, in the number for Jan. 1811, Sir Philip's paper on the Regency Question, evidently communicated by himself."

After making several extracts from Junius respecting lord Chatham, Mr. Taylor proceeds:

"Let us turn now to Sir Philip Francis, and see what was his opinion of lord Chatham. We need not look far, nor trouble ourselves with a long inference. It is recorded on more than one occasion, and in terms so express as to leave no doubt of its exact agreement with that of Junius.

'In the early part of my life," (says Sir Philip,) 'I had the good fortune to hold a place very inconsiderable in itself, but immediately under the late earl of Chatham. He descended from his station to take notice of mine; and he honored me with repeated marks of his favor and protection. How warmly, in return, I was attached to his person, and how I have been grateful to his memory, they, who know me, know. *I admired him, as a great, illustrious,* faulty, *human being, whose character, like all the noblest works of human composition, should be*

* Would to God that we feared less to adopt words in common use.—*Am. Edit.*
† Monthly Mirror, March 1810.

determined by its excellences, *not by its defects.* I should not have mentioned these circumstances, though I confess I am proud of them, if they did not lead me naturally to the subject immediately in question. In the year 1760, Mr. secretary Pitt recommended it to the late king to send the present earl of Kinnoul ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Lisbon. The same recommendation engaged the noble lord to appoint me his secretary.'

In a subsequent speech, Sir Philip again mentions lord Chatham as '*a person whose name he should never recollect without admiration and reverence.*'

When the late Mr. Pitt, by his India Bill, proposed to take the trial by jury out of the Indian system of judicature, Mr. Francis spoke as follows :—

'If a British House of Commons can on any terms consent, in any instance, to abolish a trial by jury, and if the people at large are insensible of the danger of such a precedent, individuals who have done their duty must submit to their share in the mischief which they could not prevent. I fear the temper and character of the nation are changed. Though I am not an old man, I can remember the time when an attempt of this nature would have *thrown the whole kingdom into a flame.* Had it been made when *a great man* [the late earl of Chatham,] who is now no more, had a seat in this House, *he would have started from the bed of sickness, he would have solicited some friendly hand to deposit him on this floor, and from this station with a monarch's voice would have called the kingdom to arms to oppose it. But he is dead, and has left nothing in this world that resembles him. He is dead: and the sense, and honor, and character, and understanding of the nation are dead with him.*'

The remarks in the extract from the first speech inserted above, appear to have been introduced by Mr. Francis for no other purpose than to remind the House of Commons, that he had been secretary to the earl of Kinnoul in an embassy to Lisbon, through the recommendation of Mr. Pitt. The fulsome praises bestowed upon the earl of Chatham throughout the whole, agree neither with the style of Junius, nor with his sentiments respecting the man often repeated in his letters. The few com-

pliments passed upon lord Chatham by Junius, in a letter to Mr. Horne, are evidently ironical or insincere; which he fully explained at the time in a letter to Wilkes that will hereafter appear. In the very letter containing the *feint* praises of Chatham, which has been so much dwelt upon, Junius says, "I am not conversant in the language of panegyric.—These praises are extorted from me."

Junius had too much just pride and self-respect, and was too conscious of his own abilities to eulogize any man in the extravagant manner of Francis. And in regard to lord Chatham, he frequently expressed the most decided contempt. Mr. Francis, to be sure, possessed no small share of vanity; but in this case, he flatters himself by exalting lord Chatham, and at the same time representing him as his particular and intimate friend.

CHAPTER V.

Remarks of Mr. Francis on the Regency Question—Passages in the Writings and Speeches of Mr. Francis compared with Passages in the Letters of Junius—Remarks.

I PASS on to the consideration of a "Paper drawn up by Sir Philip, in reference to the late *Regency Question*," signed Philip Francis, and dated Dec. 24, 1810.

This production is characterised by the same disgusting egotism and self-commendation so conspicuous in his Memoirs, and, it will be observed, followed soon after their publication. It appears to be intended as the last political *Will* and *Testament* of Sir Philip Francis; and to render it applicable and suitable to be written by Junius, the style and sentiments contained in the Dedication of his letters to the English nation are kept constantly in view. It commences as follows:

"REGENCY.

There is an ambition at least, which I will not renounce but with my life. It is the ambition of delivering to my posterity

those rights of freedom, which I have received from my ancestors. —Earl of Chatham, Jan. 9, 1770.

After the noble speaker of these words, *no man* has so *good a right* to make use of them as I have. They express a principle on which I have acted, and I resort to them as *my own*. In my judgment, every rational man in these kingdoms has as good a right to deliver his opinion on the fundamental principles of the constitution, now brought into question, as any peer or commoner who takes a seat in either of the chambers of Parliament. For myself, I might, perhaps, claim something more from age, from experience, and *long unblemished* public service; but still more from the *school I was bred in*, and from the *society* of many *eminent men* whom I have had the honor to live with, and the misfortune to survive. This is all I contend for. I speak to the nation, and not for any interest of my own. My concern in any thing that may happen now, is very unlikely to last long. If they will not listen to the voice of truth and reason, they shall hear it. No man who now assists or concurs in doing wrong, shall have it to plead that he was left without information and knew no better. My conclusions will be stated in their place. They are founded on principles which want no proof, and cannot be disputed.

1. I assert that the crown of these kingdoms is hereditary, and is not, or ever was, elective.

2. That the crown is not a bare inheritance, but an inheritance accompanying an office of trust, and to be executed, not for the personal exclusive benefit of the king, but of that body politic of which the king is the head.

3. That nothing less than an act of the legislature can transfer the crown, or alter the succession to it.

4. That the government of this kingdom is by king, lords, and commons.

5. That the lords and commons, without the king, are not, and cannot be a parliament.

6. That no two of the component parts of the legislature are competent to perform any legislative act whatsoever. Were it otherwise, the two acting powers might abolish the third; or without abolishing the name, might annihilate the functions.

7. That, on the natural death of the king, the succession of the next heir is instant, without a vacancy. The crown devolves on his head by demise, without any act of his own, and without the consent of any other power, party, or person whatsoever."

Here Mr. Francis proceeds to prove his propositions; which I believe no man in England ever disputed. It would be equally apposite for an American seriously to state, that in an election for president of the United States, he who obtained a majority of the votes of the electors, was *ipso facto* president: and the same of vice-president, &c. &c. and then advance a string of arguments in support of his declarations.

After concluding Sir Philip's remarks, Mr. Taylor proceeds:

"To produce a few citations from Junius, in which the preceding doctrines are maintained, in nearly the same words, will contribute more to certify his identity with Sir Philip Francis than any remarks which might be made upon them.

Sir Philip begins with affirming, that '*every rational man in these kingdoms has as good a right* to deliver his opinion on the fundamental principles of the constitution, as *any peer or commoner* who takes a seat in either of the chambers of parliament.'

Junius was of the same opinion. 'At such a moment *no honest man will remain silent* or inactive. However distinguished by *rank or property*, in the *rights of freedom we are all equal*. As we are all Englishmen, the *least considerable man* among us has *an interest equal to the proudest nobleman, in the laws and constitution of his country*, and *is equally called upon* to make a generous contribution in support of them; whether it be the heart to conceive, the understanding to direct, or the hand to execute. *It is a common cause, in which we are all interested, in which we should all be engaged.*'

Sir Philip says, '*I speak to the nation*, and not for any interest of my own.' In like manner Junius dedicates his labors to the *English nation*, and declares, '*I speak to the* plain understanding of the *people*.' Sir Philip adds, 'my concern in any thing that may happen now is *very unlikely to last long*. If

they will not listen to *the voice of truth and reason*, they shall hear it. No man who now assists or concurs in doing wrong, *shall have it to plead that he was left without information*, and knew no better." Junius employs the same remarkable phraseology. 'The voice of one man will hardly be heard, when *the voice of truth and reason* is neglected.'—'Your voice was heard until *the voice of truth and reason* was drowned in the din of arms.' And he concludes his dedication in a strain very similar to the rest of the paragraph:—'You are roused at last to a sense of your danger. The remedy will soon be in your power. If *Junius* lives, *you shall often be reminded of it*. If, when the opportunity presents itself, you neglect to do your duty to yourselves and to posterity,—to God and to your country,—I shall have one consolation left, in common with the meanest and basest of mankind.—Civil liberty *may still last the life of* Junius.'

The first, second, third, fourth, and seventh propositions of the Essay, are too obvious to allow of a difference of opinion. The fifth and sixth admit of comparisons with Junius. Sir Philip says, 'That the lords and commons, without the king, are not, and cannot be a parliament. That *no two* of the component parts of the legislature are competent to perform *any legislative act whatsoever*. Were it otherwise, the two acting powers might abolish the third; or without abolishing the name, might annihilate the functions.'

The language held by Junius, on these points, is equally clear and decisive:

'To do justice to the ministry, they have not pretended that *any one* or *any two* of the three estates have power *to make a new law*, without the concurrence of a *third*. They know that a man who maintains *such a doctrine*, is liable by statute to the *heaviest penalties*.'"

Mr. Taylor candidly acknowledges that, "the 1st, 2nd, 3rd, 4th, and 7th, propositions of the Essay, are too obvious to allow of a difference of opinion. The 5th and 6th, admit of comparisons with Junius." Were they not intended for that purpose?

Is there not a vast difference in the manner and mode of

thinking of these two writers? To call upon every man to do his duty in the exercise of his inalienable rights, as Junius does, is very different from the pompous declaration of Mr. Francis, that every man has a right to deliver his opinion, which nobody in his senses ever doubted.

Mr. Francis says, "If they will not listen to the voice of truth and reason, they shall hear it." This appears to be intended to accord with an expression of Junius afterwards quoted: but it is entirely *outré* and out of place. For it cannot be contended, that Mr. Francis gave forth any important truths in this Essay about the regency. The subject did not admit of it: and, I dare say, excited no attention whatever.

I will now give an abstract of Mr. Taylor's collection of *parallel passages* extracted from Junius, and the promiscuous writings and speeches of Mr. Francis; which, in my opinion, exhibit specimens of as palpable plagiarisms on the part of Sir Philip, as have ever disgraced the annals of literature. The dates of the extracts from Mr. Francis, as far as given, vary from 1775 to 1796; which allows full time for him to become perfectly familiar with the writings of Junius.

Junius.—"It is true he professes doctrines which would be treason in America, but in England, at least, *he has the laws of his side*."

Francis.—"But he who knows that *he has the law of his side*, will never think of appealing to necessity for a defence of the legality of his measures."

Junius.—"*So far forth* as it operates, it constitutes a House of Commons which does not represent the people."

Francis.—"*So far forth* I also meet the opinion of the Governor-General and Mr. Barwell."

The following expression is a solecism:—

Junius.—"I am sorry to tell you, Sir William, that in this article, your first *fact is false*."

Francis.—"This part of the motion, I say, implies *a false fact*."

This word "*examinable*," occurs in no dictionary.

Junius.—"The cases to prove that the assumed privileges of

either House of Parliament are not *examinable* elsewhere than in their own houses, are lord Shaftesbury's case, &c."

Francis.—"He has added some specific evidence, which I shall take the liberty to examine, because it is of an *examinable* nature in itself, and happens to be familiar to me."

In favorite *metaphorical expressions*, an excellent clue is obtained for tracing an anonymous author. Of this class, the following are among the most singular:—

Junius.—"Go to little 3 *per cents reduced*; you'll find him a mere *scrip* of a secretary; an *omnium* of all that's genteel."

Francis.—"I say we are a *nation* of 3 *per cents*, and nothing else."

Junius.—"Tell us in what instance he has discovered a single *ray of wisdom*, solidity, or judgment."

———"To what an enormous excess it has safely conducted your grace, without a *ray of real understanding*."

Francis.—"If Moodajee Boosla has *a ray of understanding*, and reflects, &c."

————"Power alone, without a particle of skill, or a *ray of genius*, can do more mischief in a day, than wisdom and industry can repair in a century."

Junius.—"He precludes himself from soliciting, with *any color of decency*, a real and solid reward from the city."

———"With what *color of truth* can he pretend that I am no where to be encountered but in a newspaper!"

Francis.—"Our superiors will judge whether the doctrine can *with the least color of truth* be applied to any acts of mine."

———"I admit the principle, as far as it can be urged by Mr. Hastings with *any color of reason or justice*."

Junius.—"The first act of his own administration was to impose that tax upon America, which has since *thrown the whole continent into a flame*."

Francis.—"I can remember the time, when an attempt of this nature would have *thrown the whole kingdom into a flame*."

Junius.—"But perseverance, management, and determined good humour, will set every thing right, and, in the end, *break the heart of* Mr. Horne."

Francis.—"They will all make common cause against him, and sooner or later overcome his resolution, *or break his heart.*"

Junius.—"A sick man might as well expect to be cured by a *consultation of doctors.* They talk, and debate, and wrangle, and the *patient* expires."

Francis.—"The case is pressing.—Men of distinguished abilities and long experience recommend different courses. Therefore follow none of them. *Doctors* differ: let the *patient* perish."

Junius.—"Will you not endeavor to remove or alleviate the most dangerous symptoms, because you cannot eradicate the *disease?*"

Francis.—"The actual choice lies between a *disease*, which threatens immediate dissolution, and a remedy which at least gives time for deliberation."

Junius.—"If the Treasury, without hearing, is suffered to *halloo* an informer at your estate."

Francis.—"Even judges themselves came down to support him, to greet him with early cheers, and encourage him with the smiles and the *halloo* of government."

Junius.—"Charles Fox is yet in *blossom.*"

Francis.—"His (Mr. Pitt's) promises *blossom* like himself; we know not what bitter fruits they may produce."

Junius.—"We may retire to our prayers, *for the game is up.*"

Francis.—"Whether you laugh or cry, *the game is up.*"

Junius.—"*It is not that precedents have any weight with me in opposition to principles;* but I know they weigh with the multitude."

Francis.—"He objected to the law as subversive of the principles of the constitution, and *not to be justified by any precedents opposed to principles.*"

Junius.—"One *precedent* creates another. They soon accumulate, and constitute law: *what yesterday was fact, to-day is doctrine.*"

———"When such a man stands forth, *let the nation look to it.*"

Francis.—"*What yesterday was* prosperous, *to day is* desperate."

Francis.—" From a civil to a military, from a military to an arbitrary government the gradations are easy, and the transition will be rapid. The same *facts* which counteracts principles *to-day*, will be *precedents* to-morrow, and principles the day after. *Let the nation look to it.*"

Junius.—" To vulgar minds it may appear unattainable, because *vulgar minds make no distinction* between the *highly difficult* and *the impossible.*"

Francis.—" To distinguish and resolve at a glance, in a question instant of life and death, between *extreme difficulty* and *positive impossibility*, is the surest indication of a *superior mind.*"

Junius.—" You have no enemies, Sir, but those who persuade you to aim at *power without right.*"

Francis.—" An arbitrary succession of acts of *power without right*, flowing from different sources, and excluding every idea of unity, regularity, or system."

Junius.—" The power of king, lords, and commons, is not an arbitrary power. *They are the trustees, not the owners of the estate. The fee simple is in us.* They cannot alienate, they cannot waste."

Francis.—" The last appeal I shall make is to the prudence of the house. *We are trustees for the nation, and accountable for the trust reposed in us.*"

———" As *trustees* to the Company, we have *no discretionary power* to give away their property."

Junius.—" In a *great business*, there is nothing so fatal as *cunning* manage ment."

Francis.—" In the conduct of *great affairs*, the advantages of *cunning* are very inconsiderable."

Junius.—" I would engage your favorable attention to what I am going to say to you ; and *I entreat* you not to be too *hasty* in *concluding*, from the apparent tendency of this letter, to any possible interests or connexions of my own."

Francis.—" My second request is, that gentlemen will have the goodness and the candour to hear me out ; that they will not suffer their minds to travel faster than I do ; that they will not *anticipate my conclusions*, and much more, that they will not *conclude* for me."

Francis.—"Again *I entreat* the house most earnestly on this point, not to anticipate my argument, nor to *conclude* either *hastily* for me or against me."

The last and the following sentiment could not have been seen by Sir Philip Francis, both being contained in one of the private letters to Wilkes.

Junius.—"There is a rule in business that would save much time if it were generally adopted. *A question once decided, is no longer a subject of argument.*"

Francis.—"*I will not continue to argue a question on which I have already submitted to judgment.* If the event of the present measures should ever force an inquiry into the origin and motives of them; the merit of those persons who have promoted or opposed them, will not be tried by nice *verbal* distinctions, or by torturing particular expressions in debate, to a sense inconsistent with the general principles, avowed opinions, and uniform conduct of those who use them. The inquiry will commence at the source of the measures in question."

Mr. Taylor appears to exult at having found some passages in the speeches of Mr. Francis, that bear a resemblance to Junius, and which, he thinks, could not have been borrowed from his letters. He would, indeed, have great reason to rejoice if he could establish this point. But, in my opinion, the examples adduced are very imperfect and unsatisfactory. The expressions of Junius and Francis in the first parallel noticed, are similar to what most men under the like circumstances would naturally make use of. Junius wished to bring over the members of the supporters of the Bill of Rights Society to his views, and, meeting with strong opposition, was induced to couch his language in such terms, as would most likely tend to gain him a favorable hearing. Mr. Francis appears to have been similarly situated: hence the remote resemblance in the two passages, which could not well be avoided.

The second parallel, I apprehend, was taken from a letter of Junius, signed Poplicola, and dated May 28, 1767. "But he rested his defence upon the unavoidable necessity of the case, and *submitted himself to the judgment of his country.*"

Mr. Francis seems to have been very fond of this expression, having put it into the mouth of lord Chatham in the report of a speech of his in violation of fact, as will, by and by, be proved beyond all contradiction.

Junius.—"But I shall not descend to a dispute about *words*. I speak to *things*."

Francis.—"If this were a contest about *words*, and if *things* of the greatest moment were not at stake, &c."

Junius.—"You have no enemies, Sir, but those who persuade you to aim at power without right, and who think it flattery to tell you that the character of king *dissolves* the natural *relation between guilt and punishment*."

Francis.—"In the present practice, the wholesome *relation* between *guilt and punishment* is inverted."

———"Nor will I leave it to the master to *dissolve the relation between* his slave and himself, just whenever he pleases."

Junius.—"*Can any man in his senses affirm*, that as things are now circumstanced in this country, it is possible to exterminate corruption?"

Francis.—"But *does any man in his senses believe* the statement to be true?"

Junius.—"*Still* you will find an *insurmountable difficulty in the execution*."

Francis.—"The *difficulties in the execution* would *still* be *insurmountable*."

There is a *manner* in the following passage, which belongs only to the present writers.

Junius.—"Who attacks the liberty of the press? lord Mansfield.—Who invades the constitutional power of juries? lord Mansfield.—What judge ever challenged a juryman, but lord Mansfield, &c.?"

Francis.—"But in the consideration of these offences, who is the offended party? The negro-driver.—Who is the judge of the fact? The driver.—Who awards the punishment? The driver.—Who inflicts it? The driver with his own hand."

Junius.—"*In the name of God and the laws*, are such men fit to govern a great kingdom?"

Francis.—"*In the name of common sense*, what useful purpose will her submission answer?"

———"*In the name of decency and common sense*, what are your grace's merits?"

Francis.—*In the name of God and common sense*, what have we gained by consulting these learned persons?"

———"*In the name of God and justice*, &c."

But perhaps the most singular instance of agreement, in the peculiar use of words, is to be found in the following quotations.

Junius.—"As far as their history has been known, the son has regularly *improved upon the vices* of his father, and has taken care to transmit them pure and undiminished into the bosom of his successor."

Francis.—"After all, mere precedents seldom amount to a satisfactory proof of right, especially in matters of government. Political societies have existed too long to leave any abuse without an example. We may *improve upon the errors* of our predecessors, but we cannot be original."

———"If I could personify the house of commons, it would be my interest as well as my duty to approach so great a person with the utmost *respect*. But *respect does not exclude firmness*, and should not restrain me from saying, that is the function of your greatness, as well as of your office, to *listen to truth*."

Junius, in his celebrated letter to the king, introduces his personal address to the monarch with the same remark. "He would deliver his sentiments with dignity and *firmness*, but *not without respect*. * * * I would prepare your mind for a favorable reception of *truth*."

The words in small capitals in the following extracts, are in *Italics* in the *original*: a circumstance which adds to their remarkable similarity.

Junius.—"To say that they WILL NOT make this extravagant use of their power, would be a language unfit for a man so learned in the laws as you are.—By your doctrine, Sir, they have the power; and *laws*, you know, are intended *to guard against what men* MAY *do, not to trust to what they* WILL *do*."

Francis.—"What they WILL do I know not, but this is what they MAY do under the present institution."

Francis.—"The lords and commons who compose the present panel are honorable men. So are we all. But let it be remembered that *laws* are made to *guard against what men* MAY *do, not to trust to what they* WILL *do.*"

Junius.—"I cannot express my opinion of the present ministry more exactly, than in the words of Sir Richard Steele:—that we are governed by a set of drivellers, whose folly *takes away all dignity from distress, and makes* even *calamity ridiculous.*"

Francis.—"Such authors of such ruin *take away all dignity from distress, and make calamity ridiculous.*"

Junius.—"Both minister and magistrate is compelled, in almost every instance, *to choose between his duty and his reputation.*"

Francis.—An open trial obliges the judge in every question that comes before him, to *choose between his duty and the loss of his reputation.*"

"The compiler of this investigation was accidentally turning over the pages of Almon's Anecdotes of lord Chatham, when his eye was caught by several passages so much in the style of Junius, as to call forth this observation—that either lord Chatham was the author of the letters,[1] or Junius had reported lord Chatham's speeches. On closer inspection it appeared, that the pages which contained the spirit of Junius were principally occu-

[1] "If it were a question worth debating, we have the best of all proofs, that lord Chatham's peculiarities of thinking and expression, did not, of necessity, give a complexion to these speeches so much like that of Junius. It is well known that Hugh Boyd was ambitious of being thought the writer of the letters, and that he imitated the style of Junius. He, by a singular coincidence, also reported two of Lord Chatham's speeches in 1775, and 1777; and here, if any where, we might expect to find that character exhibited which is seen in the reports by Sir Philip Francis. But neither are they like the latter, nor like Junius. It is astonishing how totally they differ from both: something might be expected from lord Chatham's *manner*, and something from Boyd's habitual imitation of Junius; but there is not a thought or expression in these speeches which savors either of Junius, or of lord Chatham as he is represented by Sir Philip Francis. The consequence is, that not only must lord Chatham have no credit for the literary beauties in the reports of Sir Philip Francis, under the plea that the words

pied by the reports of two debates, one on the 9th, the other on the 22d of January, 1770; that the latter was the composition of a gentleman who had furnished Almon with the previous report; and that a paragraph was prefixed to this first debate, containing allusions to the Reporter, applicable, as we have before noticed, only to Sir Philip Francis. The reasons which led to that opinion have been stated; and they were cogent enough for the purpose they were then intended to serve: but to build any thing substantial and important upon this ground, it is obvious that a better title ought to be produced. This has since been accidentally provided.—In the New Parliamentary History the above-mentioned speeches are inserted, and the following note by the editor accompanies the first of them: '*This very important debate was taken by a gentleman, who afterwards made a distinguished figure in the house of commons, and by him it has been obligingly revised for this work.*' When the publishers inquired of Mr. Wright, the editor of the debates, whether Sir Philip Francis was not the gentleman here alluded to, his answer was as satisfactory as could be wished. 'In reply to your note, I have no hesitation in informing you that Sir Philip Francis *is the gentleman alluded to* in p. 647, vol. 16, of the Par-

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were so strongly impressed on the hearer's mind, that he unavoidably adopted them in repeating the sentiments, for then Hugh Boyd would have preserved some, at least, of these *membra poetæ*, but also Boyd must be shorn of *his* pretensions to be Junius, by failing on so remarkable an occasion to sustain any part of that character, which is so well supported by Sir Philip. If the reader is desirous to obtain ocular demonstration of the truth of our representation, he will find Boyd's reports in the volume of Almon's Anecdotes which contains those of Sir Philip Francis, whereby a most favourable opportunity is presented for making a comparison."

In this case, it seems, that Sir Philip outwitted Mr Boyd; who neglected a most favorable opportunity to *incorporate* the writings of Junius into his *reports* of the speeches of lord Chatham. His competitor improved a similar occasion, and bore off the palm. It will appear, however, in the sequel, that Sir Philip's *penchant* for copying Junius, has in this instance led him into an embarrassment from which it will be difficult for his friends to extricate him; and which Boyd fortunately escaped by *modestly* using the *language* of the speaker in his reports.—*Am. Ed.*

hamentary History.' It was fortunate for the author of this investigation that the allusion here mentioned fell in his way; he must otherwise have contented himself with the internal evidence of the speeches, for Almon, the original publisher, was dead, and all his papers were dispersed or destroyed. But Sir Philip Francis being thus *proved to be the reporter*, we have now only to inquire whether the speeches so reported were also the productions of Junius. To determine this question, attention must be paid to their general character, to the remarkable expressions, and to the *dates* of each parallel passage. The better to assist the reader's judgment, such quotations will be incorporated with the text as particularly bear upon the passing subject.

'The next session was opened on the ninth day of January, 1770. The discontents which pervaded the whole nation, stimulated him (lord Chatham) to the most vigorous exertion of his talents. He considered the conduct of the house of commons, on all the questions concerning the Middlesex election, as wholly unconstitutional. He attended on the first day. His speeches on that day have fortunately met with a better fate than many of his former speeches: for they were accurately taken by a gentleman of strong memory, now a member of the house of commons, and from his notes they are here printed.

THE EARL OF CHATHAM

said, 'that he was satisfied there was a power in some degree arbitrary, with which the constitution trusted the crown, to be made use of *under correction of the legislature*, and at the *hazard of the minister*, upon any sudden emergency, or unforeseen calamity, which might threaten the welfare of the people, or the safety of the state. That on this principle he had himself advised a measure, which he knew was *not strictly legal*: but he recommended it as a measure of *necessity, to save a starving people from famine, and had submitted to the judgment of his country.*"

Junius.—"That *parliament may review the acts of a minister* is unquestionable: but there is a wide difference between saying that the crown has a legal power, and that *ministers may act at their peril*."—"Instead of asserting that the proclamation

was legal, he (lord Camden) should have said, 'My lords, I know the proclamation was *illegal*, but I advised it because it was *indispensably necessary to save the kingdom from famine, and I submit myself to the justice and mercy of my country.*' "—Oct. 15, 1771.

This first parallel from the letters is nearly decisive of the fact that Junius was the reporter. Though written almost two years after the speech, it will be seen that not only the succession of thought is the same, but even the expressions are preserved sufficiently to show that the original was fresh in the memory of the writer. If he could have found the speech reported in other words, but the same in substance, the resemblance might perhaps have been accounted for: but in the absence of all such aids, to approach so nearly to the language of a report not printed (though preserved in notes) till twenty years after, can only be satisfactorily explained on the supposition that he who took those notes was himself the writer of the letters."

Junius, according to this account, was attending in the house of commons when the speech, from which the above is an extract, was made by lord Chatham: and afterwards, in censuring lord Camden for the part he took in the debate, gives, as his own, the very words of Chatham as proper for Camden to have made use of. At a subsequent period he reports the speech, and thus exposes his own plagiarism. This, to say the least of it, was not a very judicious step on the part of Junius. But, although the speech was not reported at the time, were there not many spectators in the house, besides the members of parliament, who heard the speech delivered? and would not Junius not only have feared detection, but scorned to copy the words of lord Chatham in this manner? Would it not have been more honorable for him to have said, that lord Camden ought to have followed the example set by lord Chatham in this case? However, after all, it so happened that lord Chatham took a very different ground, upon the occasion alluded to, from that here stated: although it occurred four years before the time fixed upon by Sir Philip. Particular notice of which will be

taken after making a few more extracts from these *extraordinary parallel cases.*

Speech.—"He lamented the unhappy measure which had divided the colonies from the mother country, and which he feared had drawn them into excesses which he could not justify. He owned his natural partiality to America, and was inclined to make allowance even for those excesses: that they ought to be treated with tenderness; for in his sense they were *ebullitions of liberty* which *broke out upon the skin*, and were a sign, if not of perfect health, at least of a *vigorous constitution*, and must not be driven in too suddenly, lest they should strike to the *heart.*"

Junius.—"No man regards *an eruption upon the surface*, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his *heart.*"

———"I shall only say, give me a healthy *vigorous constitution*, and I shall hardly consult my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my *skin.*"

Speech.—"That the Americans had purchased their liberty at a dear rate, since *they had quitted their native country*, and gone *in search of freedom to a desert.*"

Junius, speaking of the Americans, says: "*They left their native land in search of freedom*, and found it in *a desert.*"—Dec. 19, 1769.

"In this instance the speech copies the letters. To suppose that lord Chatham and Junius reciprocally borrowed from each other, is to encounter a greater difficulty for the sake of avoiding a less. But the resemblance is not surprising, if we imagine that Junius was the reporter; and as we proceed, it will appear that no other solution can be given for this mutual application of each other's sentiments and language."

Speech.—"*My lords, I am a plain man*, and have been brought up in a religious reverence for the original simplicity of the laws of England."

Junius on the same subject:—"Is this the law of parliament, or is it not? *I am a plain man, Sir*, and cannot follow you through the phlegmatical forms of an oration."

The language here used may be excusable in an anonymous author, although it appears affected in so elegant a writer as Junius; but for lord Chatham to have so expressed himself before the British parliament, one would think, must have subjected him to the most pointed ridicule.

Perhaps not more than half the *parallel passages* exhibited by Mr. Taylor, are here copied. The reader, however, will probably be satisfied with these samples. The marks of plagiarism are indelibly stamped upon almost every case produced; and thus afford abundant proof that Mr. Francis was not the author of Junius's letters. His friends have destroyed his pretensions by their imprudence in making these comparisons. A political party writer may have occasion frequently to reiterate the same sentiments; but, if a man of talents, will not repeat the same phrase verbatim; at least this could not often occur. A solitary instance or two might happen, and would be excusable: but such a string of passages in the productions of Mr. Francis, exactly similar to phrases in the letters of Junius, could not be the effect of chance.

I shall now revert to the debate on the Corn Bill, which is alluded to in a previous extract from Sir Philip's speech made for lord Chatham, and compared with parallel expressions of Junius as a test of authorship. The debate on this subject took place on the 11th of November, 1766; and at no other time. I defy the friends of Sir Philip to produce a single instance of any similar debate, either before or after that period. I shall hereafter show how Sir Philip was deluded in fixing upon 1770 for this discussion, which will completely unveil the fraud committed by him in giving to lord Chatham the language of Junius in this case.

Mr. Miller, in his History of Great Britain, from the death of George II. to the coronation of George IV., gives the following account of this transaction: "In consequence of the great scarcity of provisions, the privy council, in the recess of parliament, Sept. 26, 1766, issued a proclamation, 'laying an embargo on the exportation of wheat and flour, and prohibiting the use of that grain in the distilleries.' Wheat had not yet reached the price under which it might be legally exported. No

authority, therefore, but that of the whole legislature, could in this case lay a constitutional embargo on it."

"Therefore, on the meeting of parliament, on the 14th of November following, a bill was brought in 'to indemnify all persons who had acted in obedience to the order of council for laying on the embargo. Nobody denied the expediency of such a restraint at the time: it was the mode of the transaction which deserved censure, as, by it the crown seemed to assume and exercise a power of dispensing with the laws—one of the grievances so expressly provided against at the revolution." [Allusion is then made to the neglect of convening the parliament sooner.]

"The first form of the bill was found to be defective: it provided for the indemnity of the inferior officers who had acted under the proclamation, while it passed by the council who advised it: and it had not a preamble fully expressive of the illegality of the measure. In these respects the bill was amended, and made perfect. But this produced much altercation: especially in the house of lords, where to the astonishment of most people, the newly created earl of Chatham, and lord Camden, the chancellor, opposed the bill, and vindicated the late exertion of prerogative, not only from the peculiar circumstances that seemed [illegible] influence it, but as a matter of right, asserting, that a dispensing power, in cases of state necessity, was one of the prerogatives inherent in the crown. This desertion from the side of liberty, to principles so directly opposite, gave a mortal stab to the popularity of those occasional patriots. The fallacy of their pretexts, as well as of their reasonings, was exposed, and the cause of freedom and of the constitution was ably supported by lords Mansfield, Temple, and Lyttleton. The real motives for the late exertion of power were first inquired into, and then the doctrine of a dispensing power in such cases was very forcibly attacked."

If Sir Philip Francis was Junius, his treacherous memory has in this instance placed him in the most awkward and unpleasant condition. In December, 1766, a writer in the Public Advertiser, under the signature of W. D.—supposed by the editor to be William Draper—says, "What greater proof of wisdom

can he (lord Chatham) give, than in supporting that person who is the most capable of doing good to his country, and has, upon all occasions, approved himself the most zealous protector of its liberties? But I beg pardon; upon a late occasion indeed, lord Chatham showed himself to be no friend to liberty; he was so very tyrannical, as well as lord Camden, that he denied some traders the right, liberty, and privilege of starving his fellow-citizens, by exporting all the corn out of the kingdom, for which he has met with his reward, and been as much abused as if he himself had been guilty of starving them. Is there no Tarpeian rock for such a tyrant?"

To which Junius replied, under the signature of Poplicola, as follows:

"Mr. C. D. (W. D.) wilfully misrepresents the cause of that censure, which was very justly thrown upon lord Chatham, when the exportation of corn was prohibited by proclamation. The measure itself was necessary, and the more necessary from the scandalous delay of the ministry in calling the parliament together; but to maintain that the proclamation was legal, and that there was a suspending power lodged in the crown, was such an outrage to the common sense of mankind, and such a daring attack upon the constitution, as a free people ought never to forgive. The man, who maintained those doctrines, ought to have had the Tarpeian rock, or a gibbet for his reward. Another gentleman, upon that occasion, had spirit and patriotism enough to declare, even in a respectable assembly, that when he advised the proclamation, he did it with the strongest conviction of its being illegal; but he rested his defence upon the unavoidable necessity of the case, and submitted himself to the judgment of his country. This noble conduct deserved the applause and gratitude of the nation, while that of the earl of Chatham, and his miserable understrappers, deserved nothing but detestation and contempt."

Let the reader compare this language with the sycophantic eulogy of Mr. Francis on lord Chatham, and then say if he thinks *Sir Philip could* have been the author of the letters of Junius.

Sir Philip's error on this subject, I presume, arose from the

remarks of Junius, in his letter of Oct. 5, 1771; with which, it is said in Woodfall's Preliminary Essay, he intended to close "the regular series of letters possessing the signature of Junius." This letter treats upon "the unhappy divisions," as he calls them, "which had arisen among the friends of the people, and divided them from each other." In which he says, "When lord Chatham affirms, that the authority of the British legislature is not supreme over the colonies, in the same sense in which it is supreme over Great Britain; when lord Camden supposes a necessity (which the king is to judge of,) and founded upon that necessity, attributes to the crown a legal power (not given by the act itself,) to suspend the operation of an act of the legislature: I listen to them both with diffidence and respect, but without the smallest degree of conviction or assent. Yet I doubt not they delivered their real sentiments, nor ought they to be hastily condemned."

And adds, "When I refer to signal instances of unpopular opinions, delivered and maintained by men, who may well be supposed to have no view but the public good, I do not mean to renew the discussion of such opinions. I should be sorry to revive the dormant questions of *Stamp Act*, *Corn Bill*, or *Press Warrant*. I mean only to illustrate one useful proposition, which it is the intention of this paper to inculcate, 'That we should not generally reject the friendship or services of any man, because he differs from us in a particular opinion.' This will not appear a superfluous caution, if we observe the ordinary conduct of mankind. In public affairs, there is the least chance of a perfect concurrence of sentiment or inclination: yet every man is able to contribute something to the common stock, and no man's contribution should be rejected."

This letter brought forward a writer under the signature of Scœvola in vindication of the course taken by lord Camden: which necessarily required a replication from Junius, in support of the doctrine he had advanced; in which he gives his opinion of what lord Camden ought to have said upon the occasion, and in nearly the same language as he had stated "another gentleman" (a member of the council) had expressed himself.

The style of this "gentleman," as reported by Junius, Mr.

Francis has borrowed to ornament the speech of lord Chatham. Which can be accounted for only upon the supposition of his having taken notes of the expressions at the time of their publication, and afterwards forgetting their context. For it appears evident from the numerous passages of Junius scattered throughout his writings, that Sir Philip kept an *Album*, in which he entered favorite sentiments and expressions to be applied as occasions should offer.

The incidental notice of the Corn Bill by Junius in Oct. 1771, no doubt deluded Sir Philip into the opinion that the debate upon it occurred at the previous fall session of the parliament; and as the remarks were confined entirely to lord Camden, (he having before taken sufficient notice of lord Chatham in this respect,) Mr. Francis probably concluded that something like the declarations alluded to were made by Chatham, and consequently that a good opportunity now offered to compliment his lordship with one of his "Elegant Extracts" applicable to the case.

This gentleman, according to Junius, said, "that when he *advised* the *proclamation*, he did it with the *strongest conviction of its being illegal*: but he rested his defence upon the unavoidable *necessity* of the case, *and submitted himself to the judgment of his country*."

Sir Philip makes lord Chatham say, "That on this principle he had *himself advised a measure which he knew was not strictly legal*; but he *recommended* it as a measure of *necessity*, to save a starving people from famine, *and had submitted to the judgment of his country*."

After this exposure, what confidence can be placed in Sir Philip Francis's reports of lord Chatham's speeches, made twenty years after their delivery, and in such strict accordance with the language of Junius? Had not Sir Philip his *album* or a copy of *Junius* before him when he made these reports, as well as when he prepared his own speeches and pamphlets for publication?

I shall close the remarks on Sir Philip Francis by quoting the opinions of several gentlemen in regard to his claims to the authorship of Junius.

Mr. Barker, (see p. 503) after introducing a quotation from Sir Philip's letter to lord Holland, says, "I consulted my intelligent and esteemed friend, the Rev. T. S. Hughes, B. D., on the subject, and he favored me with the following observations in his reply:—

'With respect to the work *in toto*, it appears to me very like the effort of a man who did *not* write Junius, but wished it to be thought he *did*. It is clever, and has many pointed passages, but not the raciness of Junius's style.'"

Dr. Parr, speaking of Sir Philip, (see Barker, p. 242,) says, "He was too *vain* to refuse celebrity, which he was conscious of deserving. —— It was not in his nature to keep a secret—he would have told it from his *vanity*.

His bitterness, his vivacity, his acuteness, are stamped in characters very peculiar, upon many publications that bear his name: and very faint indeed is their resemblance to the spirit, and, in an extended sense of the word, to the *style* of Junius."

Mr. Barker, in his Preface, p. 4, introduces Dr. Good's opinion as follows:

"A few weeks before the decease of Dr. John Mason Good, who was the editor of Woodfall's edition of Junius's letters, and the writer of the Preliminary Essay, which is contained in it, the author received from the doctor the following note:

'Guildford-street, Oct. 13, 1826.

'Dear Sir,—Accept my thanks for your obliging copy of your first letter on the subject of Junius and Sir Philip Francis.

Many years ago, as perhaps you may be aware, I entered at full speed into this research, and beat the bush in every direction. At that time, however, the claims of Sir Philip Francis had not been advanced, at least not before the public. But, had they been brought forward, the arguments, by which it is obvious they may be met, and many of which you have yourself ably handled, would, I think, have succeeded in putting him as completely out of the list as all the other competitors appear to be put, whose friends have undertaken to bring them forward.

The question is, nevertheless, one of great interest, as well

on the score of national history, as of literary curiosity. Yet, like many other *desiderata*, I am afraid it is likely to lie beyond the fathoming of any line and plummet, that will be applied to it in our days.

I shall always be happy to hear of your success, and am, dear Sir, faithfully yours,

J. M. Good.

'To E. H. Barker, Esq.'

The reader will observe, in the above letter of Dr. J. M. G., his indirect acknowledgment of the authorship of the Preliminary Essay in Woodfall's edition of Junius, and therefore the contents of the letter merit preservation."

Dr. Good, although he might be satisfied himself on the subject, intended, probably, only to express his opinion that Junius would not be *publicly* known "in our days."

Dr. Parr, in one of his letters respecting Junius, (see Barker, p. 243,) very justly observed, that "it was the *wish* if not the *duty* of Woodfall to keep us in the dark."

This remark will apply with equal propriety to Dr. Good; who, being employed to write the Preliminary Essay, if the secret had been communicated to him, was in honor bound, as before observed, not to divulge it.

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Barker to the Rev. Dr. Martin Davy.

"Sir Philip Francis published, or there appeared from his pen without his name, a small pamphlet, entitled *Historical Questions*, in Jan. 1818, and admitted to be his composition. The writer says: 'I mention it now for the purpose of doing justice to the German nation, knowing them as I do, to be generous, honorable, brave, and hardened people. I am sure that whenever they are mentioned by Sir Philip Francis, (in his letter to lord Holland, and elsewhere,) or any other man of common sense or common honesty, in doubtful terms, such terms can only relate to their military governments, and not at all to themselves.'

I would have the reader consider whether the little, however pardonable, vanity of referring to himself by name, as Sir Philip

Francis does in the anonymous pamphlet, is not more characteristic of *himself* than of the high-minded and proud *Junius?*"

Extract of a letter from Mr. Coventry to Mr. Barker, dated June 14, 1828.

"I wrote the other sheet a few days since, which I intended to complete and forward, but waited to see Mr. Woodfall, if possible, in which I have succeeded. I breakfasted with him yesterday-morning at Westminster. He presents his compliments, and requested me to forward the anecdote about Francis, if of any use. You are doubtless aware that his father and Francis were schoolfellows—educated at St. Paul's School. In after-years they generally attended the anniversary dinners. On one of those occasions, on Mr. Woodfall's returning home, he met an intimate friend, who said—'I met you and Junius, going to the Paulmo Festival.' 'To whom do you allude?' replied Mr. Woodfall. 'Francis, to be sure, there is no other Junius.' 'To my certain knowledge,' replied Mr. Woodfall, 'Francis had no more to do with Junius than either you or I.' The gentleman was quite satisfied with Mr. Woodfall's positive denial, and wished him good evening. Mr. Woodfall informed me that there were many reasons why Francis had no hand in the *letters*—his father knew him so well—his capabilities—his confined situation—the sphere which he moved in, as well as the risk that he would run in being thrown upon the world neglected—all concurred, to cause Mr. Woodfall to know that the motto, *Stat nominis umbra*, would never be solved in the son of Dr. Francis."

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Barker to U. Price, Esq.

"It may be affirmed beyond all contradiction, and I particularly invite the attention of the reader to the importance and the novelty of the observation, because it is decisive against the claims of Sir Philip Francis and of several other persons, that the author could not have had leisure for any other pursuit or any other business, while he was engaged in writing those *letters*—he must have lived in the retirement of his own presence, confining his society, when he could admit society, chiefly to

those few individuals, who furnished him with facts, and incidents, and circumstances, or in any way favoured his views and facilitated his labours. In solitary majesty, in oriental seclusion, in the realm of silence, and in the land of oblivion, he was 'left at large to his own dark designs.'"

Extract of a Letter from Mr. Barker to Charles Butler, Esq. Thetford, Oct. 17, 1826.

"It is quite contrary to all sound principles of reasoning—to all just views of human nature—to all the repeated lessons of experience—and to all the fair limits of rational belief—to suppose that Sir Philip Francis, when he was twenty-seven years of age, (i. e. 'when the first of the miscellaneous letters, being the earliest of the known productions of Junius, made its appearance,') should, though a mere clerk in the war-office, have ventured to enter into public political discussion at all—that he should have either overlooked or despised the danger of the attempt—that he should have thrown so serious an obstacle in the way of his advancement, should he be detected—that he, instead of promoting the wishes of his employers, instead of aiding the views of the government, of which he formed a part however subordinate, instead of sympathising with all around him as bound by the common tie of interest, should have laboured with the most vigilant energy to effect such purposes as were inconsistent with his situation, opposed to his progress in life, and calculated to subvert alike the influence of his patrons and the power of the Ministry,—that he, a mere clerk in the war-office, should have commenced his literary career by a series of papers perfect in their style of composition, and his political career by professing those high public principles, which belong only to the tongues or the pens of men, who have been for a series of years running their course of usefulness and of fame,—that he should have denounced the conduct of the ministry in the severest terms with the apparent skill of an experienced rhetorician, the exact knowledge of an able statesman, the lofty tone of an independent spirit, the persevering zeal of a disinterested patriot, and a Demosthenic vehemence of diction unparalleled in the history of human elo-

quence. If Sir Philip Francis did in such circumstances write the letters of Junius, then the history of the world itself has exhibited no similar or second instance of this sort, the phenomenon cannot be explained by all the philosophy of the human mind, and nothing is too little or too great for human credulity."

CHAPTER VI.

Claims of Charles Lloyd to the Authorship of Junius's Letters.

The pretensions of Charles Lloyd to the authorship of Junius have been lately revived, and supported with considerable zeal by Mr. Barker, upon the principle, it would seem, of making a choice of evils from among the absurdities that lay before him. The inquirers after Junius, being diverted by the artifice of the author from the direct path to the attainment of the object, have been, *ab initio*, groping in darkness.

Although Mr. Barker gives the decided preference to Lloyd, he candidly details the opinions of various literary characters with whom he corresponded, as well against as in favor of his candidate. I will give a very short abstract of the ground taken, principally in opposition to his views.

"London, Nov. 5, 1827.

"Mr. Moysey is very sorry he has it not in his power to satisfy Mr. Barker's inquiries. Mr. Charles Lloyd was his senior [at Westminster school] many years; their acquaintance not one of intimacy or of long duration. Since 1766, or thereabouts, Mr. M. knows nothing of Mr. Lloyd, either alive or dead. He can only say that his temper was very cheerful, far removed from reserved or morose habits; and as to faculties, he was a man of very lively parts, and a great deal of wit. He was called by his school-fellows, *Dolly Lloyd*, for reasons which do not appear. He was younger brother of the dean of Norwich, an eminent character. But Mr. M. cannot recollect any of his

cotemporaries *now* surviving, and grieves he can be of no further use."

From another Correspondent.

"You are, I think, right in ascribing the letters of Junius to Mr. Charles Lloyd, private secretary to Mr. George Grenville, and afterwards in the same capacity to lord North. I have more than once conversed with a gentleman, who was in the same office with Lloyd, and knew him personally, and well. He had a great predilection for chemistry, from which science Junius has borrowed expressions which enrich his style. He was a great oddity in his wardrobe:—fond of walking in the streets unveiled, and generally with a pen behind his ear:—his gait was usually hurried and rapid:—he was evidently a young man, when he addressed his first letter to lord H. under the name of Lucius. Now, my dear Sir, apply these traits to a gentleman, who stepped into old Woodfall's office early in the day, and chucked up to the person sitting at a lofty desk a MS. written in large characters, which he had brought squeezed in his fist into the shape of a ball, and the pursuit after him down the Strand,—and his disappearance in the neighborhood of Charing Cross—which have either been stated to me or I have read in some pamphlet of the day,—and the person which you have selected, will, I think, easily be recognised. He made no reply to Dr. Johnson's pamphlet on the Falkland Islands; he was at that time setting out for Aix-la-Chapelle:—after his death no more letters appeared."

The last writer one would hardly think serious. At any rate, the character he describes appears more like the mere bearer of despatches, than the writer of Junius.

From the Literary Memoirs of J. Cradock, Esq.

"Lloyd, the secretary of G. Grenville, (if we recollect rightly,) has been frequently mentioned by Parr, Horne Tooke, &c. as *the* Junius; but we are assured that Junius's last letter to Woodfall was dated only two days before Lloyd's death, under cir-

cumstances which make it impossible that he could have been the correspondent."

From the Literary Gazette, Jan. 12, 1828.

"I do not recollect to have heard that Horne Tooke was a believer in the authorship of Charles Lloyd; from Mr. Blakeway's two pamphlets it appears that he encouraged the notion that the letters were written by himself. There is a mention of Horne Tooke's opinions in Mr. Roche's *Inquiry;* but at the present time I have not access to the book."

Lloyd, agreeably to the old adage, could "tell no tales," therefore he was a safe person for Tooke to fix upon as Junius; but in conversation on this subject he might have discovered signs of guilt, which may have led Mr. Blakeway to form the opinion he did.

Extract of a Letter from George Coventry, Dec. 29, 1827.

"Though I have already stated my belief and conviction that Lloyd was, though not the *author*, a party concerned either as amanuensis, or bearer of intelligence to Junius, or as 'the conveyancer of the letters,' yet I am not prepared to contend that he was the *sole* person employed in these three capacities, and therefore his temporary absence on the continent during the reign of Junius, if the fact were established beyond doubt, would not affect the truth or the probability of my supposition: but his entire residence in France during the whole period, would, certainly, if it could be proved, be decisive on the subject."

"The five following letters, addressed to me (Mr. Barker) by a most eloquent, sagacious, and intelligent friend, will, I doubt not, be read with the liveliest interest."

These letters were from a Dr. R. Fellowes, of which the following are extracts:

"Feb. 1, 1827.

My dear Sir,-- * * * * * "I have often heard Dr. Parr speak with great confidence of Charles Lloyd as the author of the letters. Temerity was not usually a characteristic of the

Doctor's judgment in such matters; but in adjudicating the letters to Lloyd, he never appeared to me to have examined the subject with his usual caution, or to have estimated its probabilities or different sides with his accustomed impartiality and discrimination. I never heard him adduce a more satisfactory reason for his opinion, that Charles Lloyd was the author of the letters, than the change which he remarked in the countenance of his brother, the dean of Norwich, when the doctor distinctly avowed his belief, that that brother had the merit of these contested compositions. There was a sudden transition in the dean's countenance, from that of much complacency in the supposition, to that of what the doctor supposed, very sensitive alarm about the consequences."

"March 7, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I think you do quite right to clear the ground from the pretensions of other candidates for the authorship of Junius's letters, before you endeavor to establish those of Charles Lloyd. I think that you have completely and satisfactorily demolished the claims of Sir Philip Francis. I saw Sir Philip Francis's library not long after his death. I looked very anxiously for a copy of Junius's letters, and at last found one of the most recent editions of that work with a few annotations in pencil, but of a very common-place kind, and not very likely to have been written by the auto-Junius. Whatever may be the verity of Charles Lloyd's pretensions, you will not find many willing to allow them, unless you can produce specimens of equal ability in thought and diction in some of his undoubted compositions."

"May 6, 1827.

Dear Sir,—I have been indisposed myself, and have had a great deal of sickness in my family, since I had the pleasure of receiving your favour of the 25th of March. I think you will find your hypothesis that Lloyd was Junius, encumbered with many embarrassing considerations, if not some insurmountable obstacles. Almon might be a very incompetent judge of Lloyd's literary abilities; but, as he knew him personally, and was acquainted with several of his friends and companions, he could not well err in the account, which he has given of the state of

his health. Now, if we may credit Almon, Lloyd's health was in a declining state at the first appearance of the letters under the signature of Junius. But did not the letters of Junius, during the considerable interval, in which they followed each other in rapid succession, require the constant exercise of a degree of intellectual vigor and activity, which is seldom found in conjunction with a decay of the corporeal functions, and a depression of the vital powers? Though Junius wrote under a concealed name, yet he must have felt in perpetual peril of detection. And no timid man would readily have exposed himself to so much scrutinizing malignity, or have endangered his personal security by provoking such bitter hate, and incurring such implacable hostility. If Lloyd was Junius, Junius was indeed a prodigy: for he was not only brave and enterprising, but laborious and indefatigable under the languors of disease, and the approach of death.

If the Grenvilles are really in possession of the secret, they had very strong reasons for not divulging it during the last reign: or at least as long as the king possessed his consciousness, and retained his recollection. But these reasons no longer exist. What was once a question of internecine combat, is now one of pure curiosity.

George Grenville himself could not have been the author of the letters. The sentiment and the diction were above his reach. He had little illumination of mind, and no command of style. But he had one or two very able men about him besides Lloyd. He might have furnished the writer with some of his materials, or have infused a portion of his own rancor against adversaries and rivals,—against the king on the throne, and the duke of Grafton in the cabinet."

"July 9, 1827.

Dear Sir,—I have delayed longer than I ought, and much longer than I intended, to notice the books which you were so obliging as to send, and to answer your two favours of the 25th of May and the 16th of June. But during my stay in the country, I have been a good deal occupied with other matters, and besides, the consideration of my health induces me to spend as much time as I can in the open air.

I have glanced over all the pamphlets, and have read the two that were written by Lloyd. They appear to me to furnish very cogent proof that he was not the author of the letters under the name of Junius.

In Lloyd's *Anatomy of a late Negociation*, printed in 1763 there are no indications of a superior mind, either in the thought or diction. It is the mere common-place of an ordinary intellect. The pamphlet entitled *An Examination*, &c., which was written three years after the former, does not exhibit any proofs of a mind in *progress*, gradually enlarging its powers, multiplying its stock of ideas,—invigorating its sentiments, and improving its style. If Lloyd had been a young man at the time these two pamphlets were written, the perusal could never have induced a critic to presage that he would ever attain to any of that force and brilliancy of style, that is so visible in the compositions of Junius. The pamphlets are flat and jejune, sterile in sentiment, and feeble in diction. I cannot discern the workings of a strong, or the richness of a full mind. There is no luxuriance, that might be pruned into beauty,—no expansion, that might be compressed into force.

You must, moreover, reflect that at the period, when those pamphlets were written, Lloyd was no longer a young man, and he was, besides, 'in an infirm state of health,' as he himself tells us, p. 5, and which according to the testimony of Almon continued till his death.

There does not, therefore, appear to me a particle of proof, or even the most minute probability, in favor of the claim of Lloyd to the authorship of the Letters under the signature of Junius.

I had once hoped that a better case might be made out for T. Whately, emuntor of George Grenville's literary auxiliaries. Whately was a man of superior abilities, was a better scholar, a more elegant as well as energetic writer, a more profound politician, in the most comprehensive sense of the word, than Lloyd. But Whately died in June 1772."

"Aug. 16, 1827.

My dear Sir,—I return the four volumes of tracts you so obligingly sent for my perusal. I am now more than ever per-

plexed about the authorship of Junius. I cannot even hazard a guess upon the subject. I am indeed perplexed in what seems an inextricable labyrinth. I am convinced that neither Lloyd nor Whately were the authors of these far-famed compositions. If the letters were concocted in the cabinet of the Grenvilles, they might have been, in a greater or less degree, auxiliaries; but two or three subordinate understandings cannot make one master-mind. In intellectual operations, numbers do not constitute strength. There may be numerous forces in the field: but it is one presiding mind that marshals the host, and gains the victory. Junius might have subalterns to assist: but he was alone and unrivalled in the execution. He is, however, still like the man in the *Iron Mask*, a problem that has employed the wits of more than half a century in the solution. If Lloyd alone, or Lloyd and Whately were in any degree accessories to the work, it must be remembered that they both died too early to make it prudent or safe for them to disclose what they knew. If the Grenvilles were in the secret, they had very momentous reasons to prevent them from divulging it during the last reign. Even at present they may feel a repugnance in having it known, that they, in the person of their ancestor, if I may so speak, were accomplices in laying bare to the vulgar scorn the hypocritical interior of sceptered Majesty, and in teaching the multitude to think and to speak contemptuously of kings."

SKETCH OF THE LIFE

OF

JOHN HORNE TOOKE;

FROM THE

MEMOIRS

OF

ALEXANDER STEPHENS, ESQ.

CHAPTER VII.

SKETCH OF THE LIFE OF JOHN HORNE TOOKE,

FROM 1736 TO 1765.

Of the Birth and Family of Mr. Horne—His Education and early Views—He obtains the Living of Brentford—First Journey to France.

John Horne, better known of late years by the appellation of John Horne Tooke, was the son of a poulterer in New Market. He was born in Westminster, on the 25th of June, 1736.

Mr. Horne, the father, whose name also was John, had a large family. Benjamin, the eldest son, settled at Brentford, in the county of Middlesex, where he acquired considerable wealth and eminence as a market-gardener, in what is technically termed the *fruit line*. It was he who first introduced the pine-strawberry, from Saratoga, in North America, through the kind intervention of the earl of Shelburne, afterwards created marquis of Lansdowne. That nobleman, being greatly addicted to horticulture before he entered on the career of politics, and finding him an ingenious man, delighted in his conversation, and slept frequently at his house.

Mary, the eldest daughter, married a wine-merchant in Argyle-street, familiarly known among his acquaintance by the appellation of "honest Tom Wildman:" he is frequently noticed in Mr. Wilkes's letters.

Sarah, who is still alive, married the late Dr. Demainbray, who formerly occupied an honorable and confidential situation about the person of the present king; assisted in his majesty's education, and was always treated with particular attention. He enjoyed a place in the custom-house, of 150*l.* per annum: and his son, the Rev. Stephen Demainbray, has for many years superintended the Royal Observatory at Kew.

Notwithstanding the elder Mr. Horne reared and educated a family of seven children, he found means to acquire a considerable fortune, at the same time that he obtained a fair and honorable character for himself.

The following anecdote ought not to be omitted in this place, as it is not refining too much, perhaps, to suggest, that the spirited conduct of the father, in this particular instance, might have made an early and lasting impression on the mind of the son.

As Mr. Horne lived in Newport-street, he was of course a near neighbor to his royal highness Frederick prince of Wales, father to his present majesty, who then kept his court at Leicester house. Some of the officers of the household imagining that an outlet towards the market would be extremely convenient to them, as well as the inferior domestics, orders were immediately issued for that purpose. Accordingly, an adjoining wall was cut through, and a door placed in the opening, without any ceremony whatsoever, notwithstanding it was a palpable encroachment on, and violation of, the property of a private individual. In the midst of this operation Mr. Horne appeared, and calmly remonstrated against so glaring an act of injustice, as the brick partition actually appertained to him, and the intended thoroughfare would lead through, and consequently depreciate the value of his premises.

It soon appeared, however, that the representations of a dealer in geese and turkies, although backed by law and reason, had but little effect on those, who acted in the name, and under the authority of a prince.

On this, he appealed from "the insolence of office" to the justice of his country, and triumphed over the heir-apparent of the English crown, and orders were soon after issued for the removal of the obnoxious door.

On this, the plaintiff, who had been only anxious to vindicate his own insulted rights, immediately addressed a most respectful letter to the defendant in the late action, in which, after briefly recapitulating the facts, he stated that he had been actually forced into the suit by the improper conduct of his royal highness's servants, and that, having now taught them to respect

private property, he was only solicitous, that no inconvenience might arise to the son of his sovereign; and therefore granted his leave for re-opening the disputed passage.

The prince was so much pleased with Mr. Horne's conduct on this occasion, that a warrant was immediately issued, empowering him to supply his royal highness with poultry, and he accordingly acted for many years as purveyor to the household. It is extremely painful to add, that this did not prove a profitable adventure; for, by the sudden demise of the heir-apparent, and the disorder of his finances in consequence of that melancholy event, a considerable arrear of debt accrued, which, at this day amounts, including the interest, to several thousand pounds.

Meanwhile John, the youngest and darling son, became the chief object of attention in the family. It appears from a paper originally written by himself, and now in my possession, that in 1743, being then in the seventh year of his age, he was sent to an academy in Soho-square.

In 1744 he was removed to Westminster school, but remained too short a time there to distinguish himself: for after the lapse of two years he repaired to Eton.

It was about this time that he lost the sight of his right eye, a defect which, although visible for some years after, yet became wholly imperceptible after he had attained the age of manhood. This accident occurred during a struggle with some unlucky boy, who happened to have a knife in his hand, the point of which unhappily entered and lacerated that fine and delicate organ.

It was either during his convalescence, or in the interval of a vacation, that a little adventure, communicated to me by his nephew, occurred, which appeared to evince that the *future Grammarian* was developed at an early epoch. Having been sent, when no more than ten years of age, for a few weeks to school, at a village in Kent, the boy was so much displeased at his reception, entertainment, or pursuits, that he determined to return home as soon as possible, notwithstanding the distance was at least twenty-five miles. To prevent suspicion, he left the house without his hat, and took the road leading to

the capital. On finding himself closely pursued by the pedagogue, and all his scholars, the truant took refuge in a summer-house belonging to some gentleman in the neighborhood, and, notwithstanding an early and unconquerable aversion to spiders, such was his resolution even at this period of his life, that he actually clambered up the chimney, where he concealed himself for some time, notwithstanding the strictest search on the part of the master; for his companions, who knew where he lurked, were determined, from a point of honour, not to discover him.

Having thus baffled his pursuer, the young adventurer once more reached the highway, and, without either covering to his head, or money in his pocket, made directly for London, amidst a severe shower of rain.

Towards the evening, while crossing a common, he was overtaken by a peasant, who, compassionating his forlorn situation, immediately carried him home, and gave him shelter in his cottage; while his wife, perceiving his clothes drenched with wet, lent him a clean shirt belonging to one of her children, and placed his own to dry by the fire.

After receiving some homely but wholesome fare, he was put to bed; early next morning, this kind-hearted female prepared a breakfast for him: and a neighboring gardener was easily prevailed upon by the joint entreaties of this worthy pair, to carry him on the top of his waggon to town. While stopping to refresh the horses at a little hedge-alehouse, he heard some passengers describing "a little wicked boy, with a cast of his eye, who had run away during the preceding day from the boarding-school of the worthy Mr. ****." No sooner did this very accurate description of himself reach his ear, than he immediately slunk into his straw, and never once held up his head until he found himself in Covent Garden market!

Perceiving he was so near home, he immediately repaired thither, and presented himself before his astonished parents, who had been given to understand, but a few days before, that he was making the most rapid improvement in his education; and of course fancied that he was both content and comfortable. On being sternly interrogated by his offended father, as

to the cause of his elopement, he archly observed, "that his master was utterly unfit to instruct *him*: for although he might perhaps know what a noun or a verb was, yet he understood nothing about a preposition or conjunction; and so, finding him an ignorant fellow, he had contrived to leave him!"

It may not be unpleasant for the reader here to learn, that, a few years after, when this runaway had become a man, he unexpectedly received a visit from the poor woman who had administered to his comforts in his way to town, and, finding her situation far from being comfortable, he presented her with a sum of money, to relieve her immediate necessities, promising at the same time to make a more permanent provision. It will be seen, in the sequel, that he faithfully fulfilled this pledge, and that too at a period when his mind was distracted with care, and his finances not in the most flourishing condition.

While at Westminster and Eton, he was of course accustomed to associate occasionally with the sons of people of distinction; and being aware of the ridicule too generally attached to a humble origin, he found means to spare himself from all mortifications of this kind, by calling in either his wit or invention to his aid. Once, while a few idle boys, who had formed themselves into a circle, were interrogating each other about the rank and condition of their respective parents; one said he was the son of Sir Robert A—; the next, that his father was the earl of B—; and the third, that his grandmother was the duchess of C—; when it came to young Horne's turn, he observed, "that he could not boast of any titles in his family;" and on being more closely pressed, added with a well-affected reluctance, "that his father was an eminent Turkey merchant!" This reply was both conclusive and satisfactory, for, at the period alluded to, England enjoyed a large share of the Levant trade, and a Turkey merchant was but another name for credit and opulence.

And here let me add the unequivocal testimony of a contemporary to his early promise. On interrogating an old lady, with a view of discovering if any thing remarkable had occurred during his childhood, I happened to ask, "whether she remembered Mr. Horne Tooke while a boy?"

"No!" was the reply, "he never was a boy; with him there was no interval between childhood and age; he became a man all at once upon us!"

Some little difficulties occur about this period, and materials are wanting to fill up the chasm of two or three years. In the brief manuscript memoir of his own life, alluded to before, under the date of 1753, is to be found, "Seven Oakes, Kent, —— a private tutor;" and in 1754 we discover the following entry, immediately subsequent, "Ravenstone, Northamptonshire, —— do." which seems to imply, not only that great and unusual care was taken with his education, but that no expense was spared in rendering him duly qualified for any profession whatsoever.

At the age of nineteen, it was determined to send him to one of the universities, and accordingly, in 1755, he was entered of St. John's college, Cambridge. It would appear that he now applied sedulously to business, for he commenced bachelor of arts three years after, and one of those who obtained the honors of the day; his name being included among the Triposes of the year 1758.

At length, Mr. John Horne, who had hitherto been studying under the inspection of others, became a teacher himself: although it is difficult to conceive by what sudden caprice of fortune, a *cantab*, who had been placed under two private tutors in succession, and had distinguished himself among the worthies of his college, should all of a sudden have become an usher at a boarding-school. Certain it is, however, that he acted for some time in this humble capacity at Blackheath, first with a Mr. Jennings, and afterwards, on his retreat, with his son-in-law, Mr. Williams.

Yet, on the other hand, from early life, he appears to have been very fond of instructing others, and to have paid particular attention to children, whom he always viewed with a species of paternal regard. In respect to his management of these, he either was gifted by nature, or had obtained from practice, a certain degree of authority not easily to be conceived. His influence in this respect has come to my knowledge on more than one occasion, and I have lately seen a gentleman who

assured me, that when a boy, he never stood so much in awe of any person in the world as the subject of these memoirs. He added, there was something inexpressibly significant in his voice, manner and gestures, that rendered it impossible to approach him with the same ease as an ordinary mortal!

At the earnest request of his father, who was a zealous member of the church of England, he now entered into holy orders, and was accordingly ordained a deacon; but it was not until a subsequent period that he qualified himself for holding preferment, by passing through the usual ceremonies incident to the priesthood.

The law had ever been the favorite profession of the subject of these memoirs and that on which he occasionally descanted with complacency, and even with rapture, until the latest hour of his existence. He early perceived that the career of the bar included the senate, the bench, the woolsack, and all the patrician honours. Even during the feudal times, when birth seemed indispensably necessary for the attainment of most other civil distinctions, it was never deemed a disqualification in respect to this, which was then usually connected with the clerical functions.

A good education, a liberal share of the gifts of nature, a consciousness of his own powers, superadded to a bold and daring character, seemed at once to urge and to qualify Mr. Horne for the profession of an advocate. In addition to all this, he doubtless recollected that a degree at Cambridge would facilitate his claims and his labours. He had accordingly entered himself a member of the society of the Inner Temple, in 1756, four years before he was admitted into *full orders;* little dreaming that, in consequence of the latter event, a precedent should be hereafter made, in his case, for the express purpose of his exclusion; and that this too should be founded on the identical reason, that, in all former times, had rendered those of his cloth peculiarly eligible.

Our young lawyer, for so he may be now termed, partook of *commons* regularly, during term time; or, in other words, sat down to his beef or mutton daily, in the hall of his inn of court, with a view of enabling him, in his own phrase, 'to eat his way to the bar.'

It would appear, however, that the partiality of Mr. Horne for the bar was not destined to be gratified. His family, who had never sanctioned this attachment, deemed the church far more eligible as a profession, and he was at length obliged to yield, notwithstanding his reluctance, to the admonitions, the entreaties, and the persuasions of his parents.

Accordingly, in 1760, Mr. Horne was admitted a priest of the church of England, by Dr. John Thomas, bishop of Sarum: and in the course of the same year he obtained the living of Brentford, in the county of Middlesex, which was purchased for him by his father, and is said to have produced the sum of between two and three hundred pounds *per annum*. This income was enjoyed by the subject of this memoir during the term of eleven years, and in the course of that period he not only did duty at Brentford, but also preached in many of the churches of the metropolis.

In 1763, it appears, that Mr. Horne had been prevailed upon to become a travelling tutor to one of the sons of the eccentric Mr. Elwes, afterwards knight of the shire for the county of Berks.

Young Elwes being now entrusted to his charge, they repaired to France together, where they appear to have remained considerably more than a year, contemplating whatever was worthy of notice in that kingdom. This journey occurred immediately after the conclusion of the peace of Paris.

Towards the end of the year 1764 the tutor, returned with his pupil to England: and had he been heartily attached to his profession, there can be but little doubt that he might have enjoyed a fair share of its advantages. While a boy, he had been introduced at Leicester House, by means of Dr. de Mainbray, and was accustomed to play with his present majesty, who was exactly two years younger than himself, once or twice a week. He enjoyed the friendship of Mr. Elwes, who possessed considerable influence: and he was also patronised by Mr. Levintz, the receiver-general of the customs. By the kind intervention of the latter, apparently exerted through the channel of a *nobleman in high favor at court*, he was *promised* to be appointed one of the king's chaplains: and had a prospect of

such other preferment as was sufficient to satisfy his wishes. In fine, a man so gifted and so favored might have aspired to all the honors of his profession; he might have enjoyed wealth and respect, and that learned ease so dear to a man of letters.

But we shall soon discover that these flattering and seductive prospects did not prove sufficient to counteract certain impressions, which had been indelibly engraved on a mind, at once bold and original: avaricious of fame, and disdainful alike of riches and preferment, when these appeared to be in opposition to his principles.

During his residence at Brentford, however, he seems to have labored to prove useful to his parishioners and all around him. His sermons were plain, perspicuous, and practical discourses, tending to remind his audience of their duties to God, their neighbours, and themselves. While he explained the tenets of christianity, and insisted on their decisive superiority over those of all other religions, he is said to have carefully abstained from controversial points.

No one, however, was ever more ready or more eager in private to oppugn and refute the doctrines of the catholic church. These he eagerly opposed, both then and throughout the whole of a long and active life, from a variety of causes. First, he deemed many of its observances superstitious; secondly, he abhorred the idea of a connexion with, and reliance on, a foreign jurisdiction, as this seemed to trench on the independence of his native country; and thirdly, in consequence of auricular confession, and the powers assumed as well as exercised by the priesthood of that persuasion, he considered this system as highly unfriendly to human freedom.

Mr. Horne had no sooner obtained his living, than he determined to administer every possible comfort to the poor of the populous neighbourhood, by which he was surrounded. He was regular in his attention to the sick, a circumstance accompanied with a double portion of consolation. Not content with praying with those that desired it, he actually studied the healing art, for the express purpose of relieving the complaints of such as were unable to pay for the assistance of an apothecary. To attain this end, he carefully studied the works of Boerhaave, and

the best practical physicians of that day; and having learned to compound a few medicines, he formed a little dispensary at the parsonage-house, whence he supplied the wants of his numerous and grateful patients.* He was accustomed at times, to plume himself on the cures he had performed, and often observed, 'that, although physic was said to be a problematical art, he believed that his medical, were far more efficacious than his spiritual labors.'

On the other hand, he mixed with genteel society, enjoyed all its pleasures and advantages, and indeed always entertained a high relish for company and conversation. As he was fond of associating with the fair sex, he endeavored to render himself agreeable, by complying with the fashion of the times: and it is not to be denied, that he was, at one period, accused of being too fond of cards, and of spending too much of his time at ombre, quadrille, and whist. But it does not appear that he was thereby induced to neglect any of his duties; and although he was sometimes attempted to be stigmatised with the appellation of 'the *cardinal priest*,' yet he has never been accused of indulging in games of chance, or playing for any sum that might impair his fortune, or engender the remotest suspicion of avarice.

As he advanced in years, pursuits of a far different kind engrossed his attention. He had ceased indeed to be a lawyer, but he had become a politician. His vicinity to town enabled him to be speedily acquainted with all the events of the times, and there is something in the very atmosphere of a great metropolis, that communicates its influence to a wide circle around it.

Mr. Horne appears, in early life, to have imbibed high and exalted notions of public liberty; and these, operating on a

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* As Mr. Horne was a well read lawyer, and actually gave advice to his friends on that subject also, it would seem that the character given by Pope to a Mr. Kyrle, would equally apply to Horne.

"Is any sick? the Man of Ross relieves,
Prescribes, attends, the med'cine makes, and gives.
Is there a variance? enter but his door,
Balk'd are the Courts, and contest is no more."—*Am. Edit.*

sanguine temperament, produced a degree of zeal, which, before it was corrected by experience, must at times have approximated to political fanaticism. It would be truly curious to trace the origin of those ideas, and thus, connecting cause with effect, make a liberal estimate of the result: but, in the absence of facts, it is only permitted to guess at first causes, by a recurrence to contemporary history,

When he was a boy, the immediate effects of the revolution had not yet ceased to operate: while the new dynasty introduced by it, was still alarmed by the claims of a pretender to the throne. All parties ultimately appealed to the nation, and they who hailed the name of William III. as the 'great deliverer,' or supported the legitimate claims of the house of Brunswick to the crown, alike founded their pretensions on popular rights. It was thus decidedly the interest even of the court, to countenance those principles, whence it derived its strength and stability: and an unhappy breach, which at this period took place in the royal family, was at least accompanied with this advantage, that it contributed not a little to produce a competition for public favor and approbation.

Pitt and Lyttleton, fostered by the patronage of Frederick, prince of Wales, now thundered in the senate in behalf of freedom; and exhibited specimens of eloquence worthy of the classical ages. Bolingbroke, too, under the same auspices, in his animated attacks on the administration of a great but odious statesman,* exhibited the first fine models of political controversy, which were afterwards copied and improved by Burke, and imitated, but not excelled, by Junius. The Bangorian controversy, too, during which a celebrated prelate† denied the pretensions of his own order to temporal jurisdiction, had enlightened the minds and sharpened the wits of the nation: in short, liberal investigation, as connected with the pretensions of the reigning sovereign, had become the genius of the age, and could not fail to have influenced both the mind and the conduct of the subject of this memoir.

* Sir Robert Walpole, afterwards created earl of Orford.

† Dr. Hoadly, bishop of Winchester.

A variety of concurring causes might also be adduced, and a multitude of suppositions suggested; but there are no limits to conjecture, and perhaps it might be carrying the spirit of speculation too far, to suppose that young Horne had been inoculated by approximation to royalty, and first caught the holy flame of freedom, at Leicester House; the altars of which then smoked continually with popular incense, while strains were there chanted to liberty, by the best poets of the age, worthy of the days of Harmodius and Aristogiton.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM 1765 TO 1767.

The subject of this Memoir determines to take an active Part in the Disputes of that day.—Revisits France; where he meets with Mr. Wilkes.—Copy of a singular letter transmitted from Montpellier.—He repairs to Italy.

Such was the situation of public affairs, and so feverish and irritable the minds of the nation, when the subject of these memoirs first appeared on the scene. It has become the prudent practice of domestic life, during these latter times, to contemplate the disputes of opposing parties, merely with a view to individual interest; and either remain indifferent spectators, or to declare for the victors, who are alone able to reward their adherents. But it appears to have been otherwise, half a century ago; and Mr. Horne, whose mind was formed on the ancient models, alike despised a neutrality, which he deemed criminal, and an acquiescence, which would have been considered by him as degrading. Accordingly, although the star of the house of Bute was now in the ascendant, yet being considered by him as a malignant planet, that portended no good to his native country, with all the generous impetuosity of youth, he instantly decided against his own immediate interest. Warmly attached to the constitution, both from education and reflection, he burned with impatience to support its tottering fabric.

Bold, ardent, enthusiastic, he suspected that a regular plot was actually formed for its destruction, and already anticipated the time, when, like Denmark about a century before,* and Sweden at a subsequent period,† the liberties of Great Britain were to be laid prostrate at the feet of a young, artful, and ambitious monarch!

This suspicion, however strange and unaccountable it may appear to some, he cherished until the day of his death, and this ought to be considered as one of the secret, but powerful springs, by which all the actions of his future life were actuated. Let it be recollected, however, that he had been brought up in the principles so warmly advocated by the whigs, at the time of the revolution, and which still continued to operate towards the middle of the last century. Those ideas, too, were fortified by an acquaintance with the history of the ancient commonwealths, and seconded by an ardent temperament, which pointed out the present as a favorable opportunity to acquire renown and distinction.

It ought also to be added, that he gloried in the name of *Englishman*, and justly considered the constitution of his native country as surpassing, in point of real efficacy and practical excellence, not only all contemporary, but all antecedent governments, whether republican or monarchical. His judgment lately refreshed, as well as invigorated by foreign travel, had enabled him to make a comparative estimate between what he had seen at home and abroad; and it was with pride he beheld the balance in favor of human happiness, to be on the side of the land which had given him birth.

It will, therefore, appear less surprising, perhaps, that a man, who considered every infringement of the British constitution as a sacrilege, should, on such an occasion, be ready to dash the untasted cup of preferment from his lips, and begin his career, by offering up the greatest of all sacrifices, at the altar of public freedom. From this moment, therefore, he devoted himself to what he considered the public cause; and, laying aside all

* In 1661, during the reign of Frederick III.

† August 19, 1772, by Gustavus III.

thoughts of ecclesiastical preferment, he seemed to have determined early in life, either to vindicate the liberties of his country or suffer as a martyr in their defence.

It was in vain that his brother-in-law* remonstrated against his imprudent conduct, and that all his friends whispered in his ear, that he was about to put an eternal bar to his future preferment. The image of Mr. Pitt seemed to have haunted his dreams; the wrongs of Mr. Wilkes to have broken his slumbers: the fame acquired by both, to have either awakened, or at least given a new direction to his youthful ambition. In short, he resembled Themistocles, when he declared, "that the trophies of Miltiades would not allow him to sleep."

Listening to nothing but the voice of patriotism, he now took the field against corruption, and boldly assailed all those whom he considered as enemies to his country. Of his first literary efforts, it is difficult, at this period, to give any account. A song to celebrate the liberation of Wilkes from the Tower, has been preserved in the memory of a surviving friend: but it appears evident, from a variety of circumstances, that his labors were chiefly directed against the favorite.† Squibs, puns, paragraphs, letters, and essays, were all employed in their turn, on this occasion. By degrees, he extended his plan, and on finding that the chief justice of the King's Bench‡ had pronounced some severe and unpopular sentences against those who espoused the same cause with himself, he attacked him with an unexampled degree of severity: in respect to this nobleman, indeed, he appears, like Hannibal with the Romans, to have sworn an eternal enmity.§ The cabinet, too, was by turns assailed, with all the united efforts of sarcasm, ridicule, and argument; and his own, in conjunction with a thousand pens

* Dr. Domainbray. † Lord Bute. ‡ Lord Mansfield.

§ Junius, in letter, No. 68, addressed to lord Camden, says, "Considering the situation and abilities of lord Mansfield, I do not scruple to affirm, with the most solemn appeal to God, for my sincerity, that in my judgment, he is the very worst and most dangerous man in the kingdom. Thus far I have done my duty in endeavoring to bring him to punishment. But mine is an inferior ministerial office in the temple of justice: I have bound the victim, and dragged him to the altar."—*Am. Edit.*

brandished on this occasion, in one common cause, soon rendered that one of the most unpopular administrations which England had witnessed for a century.

But his chief effort, consisted of an anonymous pamphlet, which appears to have been so replete with zeal, that for a long while no one could be found who was daring enough to usher it into the world. At length, however, a *bold publisher* was discovered, and the work in question printed, and prepared for circulation, on the express condition, that the author's name should remain a secret until a prosecution was threatened.

This publication, which has now become extremely scarce, was chiefly directed against the earls of Bute and Mansfield; and is entitled:

"The Petition of an Englishman: with which are given a copperplate of the Croix de St. Pillory, and a true and accurate plan of some part of Kew Gardens." The following motto is prefixed: "Honor is worth ambition in a Pillory;" and Dryden's apology for this species of composition is quoted by way of preface: there are two reasons, (observes that great poet,) for which we may be permitted to write lampoons. The first is, when we have been *notoriously abused*, and can make ourselves no other reparation.

"The second reason which may justify an author, when he writes against a particular person, is, when that person is become a *public nuisance*. 'Tis an action of virtue to make examples of bad men. They may, and ought to be upbraided with their crimes and follies, both for their own amendment, if they are not incorrigible, and for the terror of others, to hinder them from falling into those enormities, which they see are severely punished in the persons of others. The first reason is only an excuse for revenge: but this *second* is absolutely of an author's office to perform."

In the tract, which is addressed "to the right honorable, truly noble, and truly Scottish lords, Mortimer and Jeffries," there are many offensive passages. These exhibit a complete specimen of that personal and national satire so common during the early period of the present reign; and which, in consequence of the lapse of half a century, and the change that has taken

place in our manners, would now be considered as highly indecorous. It may be permitted, however, to observe, that the two noblemen mentioned above, (Bute and Mansfield,) are told that they have created a new institution in this kingdom, called "the order of merit——or of the pillory. The boon I beg of you, (continues the author,) is to be admitted a knight companion of this honorable order; and that you would, in consequence of this my request, speedily issue forth a *Particular Warrant*, for me to be invested with this noble Croix de St. Pillory. Some such institution as the above-mentioned has long been wanting in this kingdom. Give me leave to assure your lordships, it is with no small mortification, that my countrymen appear in foreign courts and nations, where they find themselves surrounded by many acknowledged men of merit—the chevaliers of different orders—themselves undignified with any title, but that of *Englishman:* their noble bosoms decorated with no jewel, but—precious liberty!

"And since, by you, the English name is now melted down to *Briton;* and Liberty, wrested from our hands, is, with great propriety, trusted to the keeping of Scotch justices and court boroughs:—leave us not naked of every honorable distinction. Give us this badge in lieu of what you have taken from us: that we may afford a striking proof to some future Montesquieu, how true it is, that the spirit of liberty may survive the constitution; and that, though it is possible for an infamous royal *favourite*, by corruption of —— and with the assistance of an iniquitous prerogative judge, to harass and drive insulted Liberty from our arms, yet still she finds a refuge, from which she can never be expelled—a freeman's breast."

From this new order, the author digresses to a popular subject, and exclaims: "No! Wilkes, thou art not alone—we are all *out*-lawed. Sentence is passed on all. The only difference is, that they have *formally* driven thee from the protection of the laws, and they have *virtually* taken the protection of the laws from us."

"The affair of imprisonment, (it is added,) he leaves entirely to your wisdom and discretion: though indeed he rather considers that as a thing of course. For your lordships, no doubt,

have somewhere read, that truth (if it is a virtue) is a virtue like the plague—having too often the same quality of making us generally shunned and avoided.

"Wisely, therefore, do your lordships, to prevent spreading the infection, send it to perform quarantine in the King's Bench. *Mutilation* too, he has forborne to mention, though entirely of your sentiments—that from the natural body, as well as from the body politic, should be lopped, without mercy, the members that offend.

"Squeeze out, therefore, the eyes that presume to pry into your mysteries and intrigues of *state* or *lust*.

"Slit the nose that dares to smell a *rat*.

"Wring off the ears and root out the tongues that listen to, or whisper the words—*liberty* and *laws*.*

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* Junius, in the Preface to his letters, says, "If any honest man should still be inclined to leave the construction of libels to the court, I would entreat him to consider what a dreadful complication of hardships he imposes upon his fellow-subjects. In the first place, the prosecution commences by information of an officer of the crown, not by the regular constitutional mode of indictment before a grand jury. As the fact is usually admitted, or, in general can easily be proved, the office of the petty jury is nugatory: the court then judges of the nature and extent of the offence, and determines, ad arbitrium, the quantum of the punishment, from a small fine to a heavy one, to repeated whipping, to pillory, and unlimited imprisonment. Cutting off ears and noses might be inflicted by a resolute judge: but I will be candid enough to suppose that penalties, so apparently shocking to humanity, would not be hazarded in these times. In all other criminal prosecutions the jury decides upon the fact and the crime in one word, and the court pronounces a certain sentence, which is the sentence of the law, not of the judge. If lord Mansfield's doctrine be received, the jury must either find a verdict of acquittal, contrary to evidence, which, I can conceive, might be done by very conscientious men, rather than trust a fellow-creature to lord Mansfield's mercy; or they must leave to the court two offices, never but in this instance united, of finding guilty, and awarding punishment."

And in letter, No. 41, addressed to lord Mansfield, he says. "When you invade the province of the jury, in *matter of libel*, you, in effect, attack the liberty of the press, and, with a single stroke, wound two of your greatest enemies. In *some instances* you have *succeeded*, because jurymen are too often ignorant of their own rights, and too apt to be awed by the authority of a chief justice. In other criminal prosecutions, the malice of the design is confessedly as much the subject of consideration to a jury as the certainty of the fact. If a different doctrine prevails in the case of libels, why should it not extend to *all* criminal cases? Why not to capital offences? I see no reason (and I dare

"And for the sake of congruity, for your own satisfaction, and certainty of a punctual performance—be yourselves the executioners of the sentences you pass.—And let Fulvia, with her bodkin, pierce through again the tongue of Cicero.

"But you may go farther than this scheme of partial punishment.—Nay, you must. For chopping off the hands of authors would be doing worse than nothing. They spring up like Hydra's heads. And it is to be apprehended, lest the remaining stump of some poor, mangled carcass, instead of *ink*, should write his purposes in *blood*.

"Hang up at once, then, all who can read or write.

"You have a precedent in Cade.* And for the justification of any infamous and dirty business, it is at *present* sufficient that there is a precedent."

After this, the author returns to his favorite subject, the violation of public justice, in the person of a popular commoner:

"Your lordships' firm and persevering conduct has effected what our laws never could. And an Englishman is under a necessity of being either absolutely free from faults and indiscretions—*which is difficult*—or your friend—*which is impossible*. For we have seen, by Mr. Wilkes's treatment, that no man who is not, and who has not always been, absolutely *perfect* himself, must dare to arraign the measures of a minister.

The following passages are too singular to be omitted, as they seem to savour of prophecy, exhibit the same indications of spirit with which the author was animated: and at the same

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say you will agree with me, that there is no good one) why the life of the subject should be better protected against you, than his liberty or property. Why should you enjoy the full power of pillory, fine and imprisonment, and not be indulged with hanging or transportation? With your lordship's fertile genius and merciful disposition, I can conceive such an exercise of the power you have, as could hardly be aggravated by that which you have not."—*Am. Edit.*

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* (*Enter a Clerk.*)

Weaver. The clerk of Chatham. He can WRITE and READ and cast accompts.

Jack Cade. O, Monstrous!

Weaver. We took him setting copies.

Cade. Here's a villain!

time prove that he was ready to devote himself to what he doubtless considered the cause of the nation:

"Even I, my countrymen, who now address myself to you—I, who am at present blessed with peace, with happiness, and independence, a fair character, and an easy fortune, am at this moment forfeiting them all.

"Soon must I be beggared, vilified, imprisoned. The hounds of power will be unkennelled and laid upon the scent. They will track out diligently my footsteps, from my very cradle. And if I should be found once to have set my foot awry—it is enough.—Instant they open on me.—My private faults shall justify their public infamy, and the follies of my youth be pleaded in defence of their riper villany.

"Spirit of Hampden, Russel, Sidney! animate my countrymen! I invoke not your assistance for myself; for I was born *indeed a freeman.*

"My heart in its first pantings beat to *liberty.* She is twisted with my heart-strings, and cannot be torn from thence. They have formed together a gordian knot, which cannot be *untwisted* by the subtle fingers of *corruption*, nor loosened by the touch of fear. Nothing can separate us. No! not the cruel and bloody sword of tyranny. Her union with me is lovely and honorable through life; and even in death I will not be divided from her."

Mr. Horne was very fortunate to escape from that prosecution, which he seemed to court. For this impunity, he was perhaps indebted to his seeming indiscretion, as he had made some gross allusions to the honor of a great lady, which might have rendered a trial in a court of justice both injudicious and indelicate; while it would have added not a little to the public odium against this personage, relative to whom, too many prejudices unhappily subsisted at that moment.

But it is not a little creditable to the subject of these memoirs that, whatever his political opinions might be, and however far his zeal might have carried him beyond the customary bounds of discretion, his character and integrity were alike unimpeachable. That he was respected not only by his own parishioners, but also by the families of the neighboring gentry, there cannot

be a better proof than the fact that he was repeatedly selected to superintend the morals, and regulate the conduct of young men of fortune.

Of this, a new instance occurred in 1765, when he was applied to by Mr. Taylor, a gentleman residing within a few miles of Brentford, to accompany his son, during an excursion to Italy. Having been always fond of travelling, and particularly delighted with the prospect that now occurred, of treading on classic ground, he readily accepted the offer; and towards the autumn of the same year, set forward with his usual zeal and alacrity.

Perhaps it may be here necessary to observe, that, at Dover, Mr. Horne constantly changed his clerical dress; and, on crossing that narrow strait, which, by separating us from "that pale that white-faced shore"* of France, has happily insured our independence, assumed the habit, appearance, and manners of a private gentleman. Nor ought it to be omitted, that, on both this and the former occasion, the young gentleman entrusted to his care, never once dreamed, that he was under his inspection; but deemed himself highly honored, as well as obliged, by the permission to accompany him in the capacity of a friend during this journey.

Soon after his arrival at Calais, our traveller saw and conversed with the father of the present Mr. Sheridan, then employed on a scheme of perfecting and extending the English language.

On his arrival in the capital, he visited several of his countrymen, and, by means of a letter of introduction from Mr. Humphrey Cotes, he enjoyed an opportunity of being introduced to Mr. Wilkes, who was then in exile. Accordingly, he immediately waited upon that gentleman, who received him with distinguished politeness. He was already known to the "patriot" by reputation, and the handsome manner in which he had mentioned this popular character, while laboring under the penalties of proscription, could not fail to excite his gratitude and esteem.

That celebrated commoner who, with a correct and elegant

* King John, act ii, scene 1.

taste, united all the vices of a fine gentleman, and all the discernment of a man of the world, soon discovered that his new acquaintance was no ordinary man. He instantly perceived, that he was not only a scholar, but a person of conspicuous talents. One so richly gifted, and so replete with zeal and disinterestedness, was likely to prove serviceable both to his present and future views; he therefore solicited his friendship, and after much entreaty, exacted a promise of correspondence. This was acceded to in an evil hour, by our traveller, as will be seen hereafter: while the gay colonel of the Buckingham militia, plunging into the dissipation of a luxurious metropolis, soon forgot to cultivate that acquaintance, which he had been so desirous to form and to improve.

Mr. Horne, after a short residence there, proceeded to Geneva, in the vicinity of which he visited Voltaire; and in the south of France associated with the author of the "Sentimental Journey." He then crossed the Alps, and at Genoa remained for some time in the same house with Mr. Rosenhagen, a man whose abilities were once considered of so high an order, as to entitle him to the suspicion of being "Junius." After this, he viewed all the great cities of Italy, and spent the festive season of the Carnival at Venice.

On his arrival at Montpelier, Mr. Horne and his young friend visited all the genteel company in that place, both French and English. Among the latter was the late duke of Buccleugh accompanied by the celebrated Dr. Adam Smith, author of the "Wealth of Nations," as a travelling tutor; and Mr., now Sir Thomas Hussey Apreece.

It was during his residence in a city, which, by the caprice of fashion, was then deemed eminently salubrious, and is now carefully avoided during a large portion of the year, on account of the deleterious effluvia of the neighboring marshes, that Mr. Horne seems to have first recollected his pledge to the famous patriot whom he had left in exile at Paris. He now commenced an epistolatory correspondence, by means of a letter equally singular and indiscreet. The following is the only correct and authentic copy which has ever appeared: and no attempt shall be here made to palliate, far less to justify certain passages

which cannot be excused in any point of view, or under any circumstances whatever.

"*To John Wilkes, Esq.—Paris.*

"Montpelier, Jan. 3, 1766.

"Dear Sir,—I well recollect our mutual engagement at parting, and most willingly proceed to fulfil my part of the agreement.

"You are now entering into a correspondence with a parson, and I am greatly apprehensive lest that title should disgust; but give me leave to assure you, I am not *ordained* a hypocrite. It is true I have suffered the infectious hand of a bishop to be waved over me; whose imposition like the sop given to Judas, is only a signal for the devil to enter.

"I allow, that usually at that touch—'fugiunt pudor verumque, fidesque. In quorum subeunt locum fraudes, dolique, insidiæque,' &c. &c. but I hope I have escaped the contagion; and if I have not, if you should at any time discover the *black* spot under the tongue, pray kindly assist me to conquer the prejudices of education and profession.

"I have not received as yet any letters from England. I believe there are a few left for me at the Post-house, at Marseilles: but I do not expect any intelligence in them: I hope for some from you relative to yourself that may give me pleasure, though I am half afraid the hopes of the present ministry have miscarried; for lord St. John of Blesto, not long since showed me a letter from the duke of Grafton, excusing himself for not appointing his lordship to the embassy of Constantinople, and mentioning the nomination of Mr. Murray: at the same time his lordship told me, that he too had long been soliciting that employment: I wish there had been no greater obstacle in your way than his lordship's interest and merit.

"I passed a week with Sterne, at Lyons, and am to meet him again at Sienna in the summer.—Forgive my question, and do not answer it, if it is impertinent. Is there any cause of coldness between you and Sterne?

"He speaks very handsomely of you, when it is absolutely necessary to speak at all: but not with that *warmth and enthu-*

stasm that I expect from every one that knows you. Do not let me cause a coldness between you, if there is none. I am sensible my question is at least imprudent, and my jealousy blameable.

"Sheridan is at Blois, *by order of his majesty*, and with a pension: inventing the method to give a proper pronunciation of the English language to strangers, by means of sounds borrowed from their own. And he begins with the French.

"I remember, a few years ago, when an attempt was made to prove lord Harborough an *idiot*, the council on both sides produced the same instance; one of his wit, the other of his folly. His servants were puzzled once to unpack a large box, and his lordship advised them to do with it, as they did with an oyster, put it on the fire, and it would gape!

"This commission of Sheridan appears to me equally equivocal. And should a similar statute be at any time attempted against his majesty, they who do not know him may be apt to suspect that he employed Sheridan in this manner, not so much for the sake of foreigners as his own subjects; and had permitted him to amuse himself abroad, to prevent his spoiling our pronunciation at home.

"I have this moment seen a letter from England, that tells me that Fitzherbert has sent you a power to draw on him to the amount of 1000*l.* a year:

"Eutrapelus, cuicunque nocere volebat
Vestimenta dabat pretiosa:*

* As this well quoted passage afterwards became a subject of contention, the whole of it is here subjoined:

Eutrapelus, cuicumque nocere volebat,
Vestimenta dabat pretiosa. Beatus enim jam
Cum pulcris tunicis sumet nova consilia et spes:
Dormiet in lucem, scorto postponet honestum
Officium; nummos alienos pascet: ad imum
Thrax erit, aut olitoris aget mercede caballum."

Epist. ad Lollium, 812, *Hor. Lib.* 1.

Translation,—by Philip Francis, D.D.

Eutrapelus in merry mood,
The objects of his wrath pursued,

"I am afraid this is *Eutrapelian* generosity; and that, by furnishing you with the means of pleasure, they intend to consign you over to dissipation, and the grand points of national liberty and your glory to oblivion. I am sure they will be mistaken; nothing little or common is for the future to be pardoned you.

"The public have done you the justice to form extravagant notions of you; and though they would be very sorry to see you neglect any opportunity of serving your private interest: yet they hope never to have cause to reproach you as Brutus did Cicero.—'That it was not so much a *master* that he feared, as Anthony for that master.'

"You perceive how freely I deliver my sentiments: but all this is uttered in the openness of my heart, and ought not to offend you, as it proceeds from a man who has always both felt for your sufferings and spoken highly of your conduct in the public cause. In the meantime, I am, dear sir, your most obedient and very humble servant, JOHN HORNE."

Of the first portion of this letter, enough has been already said, and it is to be hoped, that the writer, on this occasion, rather flattered the supposed opinions of his new acquaintance, than exhibited his own. The remainder is equally curious and interesting: for it proves that Mr. Horne had already detected the secret views of Mr. Wilkes, who had long wished to repair to a distant part of the world, in some honorable and lucrative

And where he deepest vengeance meant,
Fine clothes, with cruel bounty, sent;
For, when the happy coxcomb's drest,
Strange hopes and projects fill his breast;
He sleeps till noon, nor will the varlet,
For fame or fortune, leave his harlot.
Lavish he feeds the usurer's store,
And when the miser lends no more,
He learns the gladiator's art,
Or humbly drives a gardener's cart.—*Am. Edit.*

Volumnius Eutrapelus was a companion of the profligate Anthony, and is mentioned by Cicero, both in his Epistles and Philippics.

employment, and that of minister to the Ottoman Porte had been actually selected by himself. It appears evident, too, that his intelligence was so excellent, that he had become acquainted with the negociation with the Rockingham administration, in consequence of which, a considerable annuity was to be paid this gentleman, while he remained in exile, with a view of keeping him quiet. The sum in question, however, was not to be taken out of the public money, but levied by a voluntary subscription from the salaries of those in place.

Whether it was, that Mr. Wilkes was piqued at the discovery, or mortified at the disclosure of this transaction, is uncertain: but true it is, that no answer was ever returned to this singular epistle. Whatever may be its faults, no one can deny that the sentiments disclosed in the latter part of it, are as just and commendable, as those in the former are offensive and indiscreet; and it will readily occur, that therein is developed, even at this early period, not only that warmth of sentiment, but the same noble scorn of corruption, which the writer steadily evinced through life.

Meanwhile, the neglect with which he was treated, could not but prove trying in the extreme, to a man eager to cultivate an intimacy with Mr. Wilkes; who had been prevailed upon to accept an invitation to a literary intercourse, and had committed himself, in a manner, and to an extent, whence it was impossible to recede. Notwithstanding all this, on his return to Paris, in the course of the ensuing spring, Mr. Horne found means to see the exiled patriot, without undergoing either the formality or humiliation of a visit. This opportunity of demanding an explanation was not suffered to escape; but every attempt to gratify his curiosity was skilfully parried for a time by Mr. Wilkes, who, over a bottle of Burgundy, in a jocular manner, and with his usual flow of wit and vivacity, endeavored to convert the whole into a joke. Finding, however, that his correspondent was too serious to participate in his witticisms, he concluded by denying the receipt of the fatal epistle!

But notwithstanding our traveller had reason to suspect his veracity, even at that period, yet a reconciliation actually took place.

Being now about to repair to England, where it was necessary that he should resume his clerical dress and functions, Mr. Horne determined to leave his fashionable clothes at Paris, whither he had determined to return in the course of a few months. He accordingly confided his wardrobe to the care of Mr. Wilkes, as may be seen from the following curious note, transmitted to that gentleman on the morning of his departure.

"Paris, May 25, 1767.

"Dear Sir,—According to your permission, I leave with you: one suit of scarlet and gold cloth, one suit of white and silver cloth, one suit of blue and silver camblet, one suit of flowered silk, one suit of black silk, one black velvet surtout.

"If you have any fellow-feeling, you cannot but be kind to them; since they too, as well as yourself, are outlawed in England, and on the same account—their superior worth.

"I am, dear Sir, your very affectionate humble servant,

"JOHN HORNE."

Here the reader will naturally reflect upon the forlorn condition in which Mr. Horne found his friend Wilkes:—banished from his country, and an outlaw; brooding over his misfortunes, and imprecating vengeance upon his persecutors. The conduct of his former friend, lord Chatham, who, it seems, had become a very different man when earl of Chatham, from what he was when plain Mr. Pitt, must have excited his utmost indignation. He shows to Mr. Horne a copy of his letter to the duke of Grafton on the subject, and a reply to it by W. D.; which, in consequence of his absence from England, Mr. Horne had not before seen. It may be easily imagined that the warm, the patriotic, the generous feelings of Mr. Horne were raised to the highest pitch of enthusiasm in behalf of Mr. Wilkes, as a patriotic sufferer in the cause of liberty; and a bitter philippic, directed chiefly against lord Chatham, soon appears in the Public Advertiser of London, under the signature of Poplicola.

At *Paris*, and not in *London* or its *vicinity*, in my opinion, the two first letters of *Junius* were written. They bear every mark of a writer who had been absent from his country, and

was ignorant of what had passed. How otherwise can it be accounted for that Poplicola answers, on the 28th of May, 1767, an article that appeared in the Public Advertiser in Dec. 1766, as though it had been published the day preceding? commencing thus: "Your correspondent C. D. professes to undeceive," &c. mistaking even the initials of the writer; which had probably become obliterated in the possession of Mr. Wilkes, or, perhaps from a slight inspection, they were not fully impressed upon the mind of the writer.

It may be presumed that Mr. Horne, as he made no stay in Paris on his journey to Italy, remained five or six weeks in that metropolis on his return. And while there, his time must have been very much occupied in paying his respects to the acquaintances he had made on his former visit, and in pointing out to his pupil the curiosities of the place. This alone can apologize for the awkward blunder committed in the beginning of the second letter of Poplicola.

Mr. Horne left Paris for England on the 25th of May, as appears by the date of his note to Mr. Wilkes, "transmitted to him on the morning of his departure;" but he probably forwarded previously the letter which bears date the 28th; for that is the date of its publication. Junius did not date his communications to the Public Advertiser, nor generally, his letters to Wilkes and Woodfall, as I shall hereafter prove.

Nothing can justify the supposition that any person in England, conversant with passing events, should have broken out, in the manner of these letters, more than five months after the existence of the exciting cause. The writer must have been absent from England in Dec. 1766, and must, at the time of writing, have taken his impulse from Mr. Wilkes. There can be no other solution to this enigma.

The style of the first letter applies exactly to the condition of Mr. Horne, who had just trod classic ground, and had, no doubt, lately read with his pupil the works of Livy, Tacitus, and other Roman classics.

Mr. Heron, in his edition of Junius, remarks on a passage respecting the Prætorian Bands, in letter No. 35, addressed to the king, that "This is one among many passages which show

that the writer of these letters was fresh from the perusal of Tacitus. The period of Roman History to which he alludes, is that which ensued when Vitellius and the army from Germany, defeated the Prætorian guards that ravished the imperial power from Otho."

I will now lay before the reader, for his consideration, the two letters before mentioned, as well as the two succeeding ones, published after Mr. Horne's arrival in England. And, for their better understanding, I shall first give the letters of Wilkes and W. D. which Mr. Woodfall introduces in a note subjoined to the second letter of Poplicola.

Letter from John Wilkes to the duke of Grafton.

Paris, Dec. 12, 1766.*

I believe that the flinty heart of lord Chatham has known the sweets of private friendship, and the fine feelings of humanity, as little as even lord Mansfield. They are both formed to be admired not beloved. A proud, insolent, overbearing, ambitious man is always full of the ideas of his own importance, and vainly imagines himself superior to the equality necessary among real friends, in all the moments of true enjoyment. Friendship is too pure a pleasure for a mind cankered with ambition, or the lust of power and grandeur. Lord Chatham declared in parliament the strongest attachment to lord Temple, one of the greatest characters our country could ever boast, and said *he would live and die with his noble brother*. He has received obligations of the first magnitude from that *noble brother*, yet what trace of gratitude or of friendship was ever found in any part of his conduct? and has he not now declared the most open variance, and even hostility? I have had as warm and as express declarations of regard as could be made by this marble-hearted friend, and Mr. Pitt had no doubt his views in even feeding me with flattery from time to time; on occasions too where candour and indulgence were all I could claim. He

* The Philadelphia copy of Woodfall's *Junius* erroneously gives the date of this letter, 1763. I have not had an opportunity to examine the London edition. —*Am. Ed.*

may remember the compliments he paid me on two certain poems in the year 1754. If I were to take the declarations made by himself and the late Mr. Potter *à la lettre*, they were more charmed with those verses after the ninety-ninth reading, than after the first; so that from this circumstance, as well as a few of his speeches in parliament, it seems to be likewise true of the first orator, or rather the first comedian, of our age, *non displicuisse illi jocos, sed non contigisse.*

I will now submit to your grace, if there was not something peculiarly base and perfidious in Mr. Pitt's calling me a *blasphemer of my God* for those very verses, at a time when I was absent, and dangerously ill from an affair of honor. The charge too he knew was false, for the whole ridicule of those two pieces was confined to certain mysteries, which formerly the *unplaced and unpensioned* Mr. Pitt did not think himself obliged even to affect to believe. He added another charge equally unjust, that I was the *libeller of my king*, though he was sensible that I never wrote a single line disrespectful to the sacred person of my sovereign, but had only attacked the despotism of his ministers, with the spirit becoming a good subject, and zealous friend of his country.* The reason of this perfidy was plain. He was then beginning to pay homage to the *Scot-*

* The following is an extract from the earl of Chatham's speech, in reference to Mr. Wilkes on the subject of parliamentary privileges, taken from Miller's history. This speech, Mr. Miller says, has been faithfully preserved:—

"With regard to the paper itself, or the libel which had given pretence for this request to surrender the privileges of parliament, he observed that the house had already voted it a libel—he joined in that vote. He condemned the whole series of North Britons: he called them illiberal, unmanly, and detestable. He abhorred all *national reflections*. The king's subjects, he said, were *one people*. Whoever *divided* them, was guilty of *sedition*. His majesty's complaint was well founded: it was just: it was necessary. The author did not deserve to be ranked among the human species—he was the *blasphemer of his God*, and the *libeller of his king*. He had no connexion with him: he had no connexion with any such writer: he neither associated nor communicated with any such."—"The dignity, the honor of parliament had been called upon to support and protect the *purity* of his majesty's character; and this they had done by a strong and decisive condemnation of the libel which his majesty had submitted to the consideration of the house."—*Am. Edit.*

lish idol, and I was the most acceptable sacrifice he could offer at the shrine of Bute. History scarcely gives so remarkable a change. He was a few years ago the mad, seditious tribune of the people, insulting his sovereign, even in his capital city, now he is the abject, crouching deputy of the proud Scot, who he declared in parliament *wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom;* a most ridiculous character surely for a statesman, and the subject of a free kingdom, but the proper composition for a *favorite*. Was it possible for me after this to write a suppliant letter to lord Chatham! I am the first to pronounce myself most unworthy of a pardon, if I could have obtained it on those terms.

Although I declare, my lord, that the conscious pride of virtue makes me look down with contempt on a man, who could be guilty of this baseness, who could in the lobby declare that I must be supported, and in the House on the same day desert and revile me, yet I will on every occasion do justice to the minister. He has served the public in all those points, where the good of the nation coincided with his own private views: and in no other. I venerate the memory of the secretary, and I think it an honor to myself that I steadily supported in parliament an administration, the most successful we ever had, and which carried the glory of the nation to the highest pitch in every part of the world. He found his country almost in despair. He raised the noble spirit of England, and strained every nerve against our enemies. His plans, when in power, were always great, though in direct opposition to the declarations of his whole life, when out of power. The invincible bravery of the British troops gave success even to the most rash, the most extravagant, the most desperate of his projects. He saw early the hostile intentions of Spain, and if the *written advice* had been followed, a very few weeks had then probably closed the last general war: although the merit of that *advice* was more the merit of his *noble brother*, than his own. After the omnipotence of lord Bute, in 1761, had forced Mr. Pitt to retire from his majesty's councils, and the cause was declared by himself to be our conduct relative to Spain, I had the happiness of setting that affair in so clear and advantageous a light,

that he expressed the most entire satisfaction, and particular obligations to my friendship. I do not, however, make this a claim of merit to Mr. Pitt. It was my duty, from the peculiar advantages of information I then had."*

In answer to these strictures Sir William Draper in the letter subscribed W. D. and which is too long to be copied verbatim, quotes several of Mr. Wilkes's previous declarations in favor of lord Chatham, while Mr. Pitt, and concludes as follows:—

"The letter asserts also that lord Chatham is now the abject, crouching deputy of lord Bute, who he declared in parliament wanted wisdom, and held principles incompatible with freedom. The world knows nothing of this abject, crouching deputed minister, but from Mr. Wilkes's single affirmation; but all know that his Majesty has been pleased to call lord Chatham

* CHARACTER OF LORD CHATHAM,

From a Memoir of the Affairs of Europe, by lord John Russel.

"He was a man endowed with qualities to captivate a nation, and subdue a popular assembly. Bold and ambitious in the part he was to take upon every public question, he was the master of a loud but harmonious voice, a commanding eye, an unrivalled energy, but at the same time propriety of language, and a light of imagination which flashed from him with brilliant splendor, and was gone ere any one could pronounce that the speaker was fanciful or digressive. Upon every important subject he appealed to some common and inspiring sentiment: the feeling of national honor, disgust at political corruption, the care of popular liberty, contempt of artifice, or hatred of oppression. But, provided the topic were animating and effective, he little cared whether it were one on which a wise patriot could honestly dilate: a vulgar prejudice served his turn as well as an ancient and useful privilege: he countenanced every prevailing delusion: and hurried the nation to war, not as a necessary evil, but as an honorable choice. Above all, he loved to nurse the popular jealousy of France: and it was upon his means of gratifying this feeling that he seemed to build his hopes of future power. Ever ready to be the mouth-piece of the cry or clamor of the hour, he could be as inconsistent as the multitude itself: in his earlier days, when reproached with his change of opinion, he pleaded honest conviction of error: after he had acquired authority, he faced down his accusers with a glare of his eye and the hardihood of his denial. Nor, although he assumed a tone of virtue superior to his age, was he more scrupulous than others in political intrigue: but his object was higher. Instead of bartering his conscience for a large salary or a share of patronage, he aimed at undivided power, the fame of a great orator, to be the fear of every cabal, and the admiration of a whole people."—*Am. Ed.*

again to the ministry: if lord Bute supports him in it, he gives the noblest proof of generosity and greatness of soul, and has revenged himself in the finest manner upon lord Chatham for those expressions, and affords the strongest proof that he does not want wisdom, or hold principles incompatible with freedom. What greater proof of wisdom can he give, than in supporting that person who is the most capable of doing good to his country, and has upon all occasions approved himself the most zealous protector of its liberties! But I beg pardon: upon a late occasion, indeed, lord Chatham showed himself to be no friend to liberty; he was so very tyrannical, as well as lord Camden, that he denied some traders the right, liberty, and privilege of starving his fellow-citizens, by exporting all the corn out of the kingdom, for which he has met with his reward, and been as much abused as if he himself had been guilty of starving them. Is there no Tarpeian rock for such a tyrant!

Mr. Wilkes has now done with lord Chatham, leaving him to the poor consolation of a place, a peerage, and a pension: for which, he says, he has sold the confidence of a great nation. But I cannot take leave of, or have done with Mr. Wilkes, without making a few observations upon this paragraph: Mr. Wilkes is a great jester: in this place he cannot possibly be serious: for as to the pension, I think I cannot explain it better to my countrymen, than in Mr. Wilkes's own words, August 12, 1762:

'I must, in compliance with a few vulgar writers, call the inadequate reward given to Mr. Pitt, for as great services as ever were performed by a subject, a pension, although the grant is not during pleasure, and therefore cannot create any undue, unconstitutional influence. In the same light we are to consider the dukes of Cumberland's and Marlborough's, prince Ferdinand's, and admiral Hawke's, Mr. Onslow's, &c. &c. &c. I was going to call it the king's gold box: for Mr. Pitt having before received the most obliging marks of regard from the public, the testimony of his sovereign only remained wanting.'

Now as Mr. Wilkes has so fully set forth the nature of this pension, I cannot think it will at all lessen the confidence of the nation in lord Chatham: it may very possibly lessen their confi-

dence in Mr. Wilkes, who has contradicted himself so furiously, and perhaps destroy that idea of consistency which the gentleman boasts of in his letter to the duke of Grafton; where he assures his grace, that 'however unfashionable such a declaration may be, consistency shall never depart from his character.' The reader has the proofs before him, and will judge of it accordingly. W. D."

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS OF JUNIUS.

LETTER I.

For the Public Advertiser.

28 April, 1767.

Dictatura, quam in summis reipublicæ angustiis acceperat, per pacem continuata libertatem fregit; donec illum conversus in rabiem populus, ei diu ultores de saxo Tarpeio dejecerunt.*

The bravest and freest nations have sometimes submitted to a temporary surrender of their liberties, in order to establish them for ever. At a crisis of public calamity or danger, the prudence of the state placed a confidence in the virtue of some distinguished citizen, and gave him power sufficient to preserve or to oppress his country. Such was the Roman dictator, and while his office was confined to a short period, and only applied as a remedy to the disasters of an unsuccessful war, it was usually attended with the most important advantages, and left no dangerous precedent behind. The dictator finding employment for all his activity in repulsing a foreign invasion, had but little time to contrive the ruin of his own country, and his ambition was nobly satisfied by the honor of a triumph, and the applause of his fellow-citizens. But as soon as this wise institution was corrupted, when that unlimited trust of power, which should have been reserved for conjunctures of more than ordinary difficulty and hazard, was without necessity committed to one

* The Dictatorship, which had been confided to him during a period of extreme peril to the republic, being continued to him after the peace, he abused it to the destruction of liberty, till the people turned upon him in their rage, and the avenging gods precipitated him from the Tarpeian rock.—*Am. Edit.*

man's uncertain moderation, what consequence could be expected but that the people should pay the dearest price for their simplicity, nor ever resume those rights which they could vainly imagine were more secure in the hands of a single man, than where the laws and constitution had placed them. Without any uncommon depravity of mind, a man so trusted might lose all ideas of public principle or gratitude, and not unreasonably exert himself to perpetuate a power, which he saw his fellow-citizens weak and abject enough to surrender to him. But if, instead of a man of a common mixed character, whose vices might be redeemed by some appearance of virtue and generosity, it should have unfortunately happened that a nation had placed all their confidence in a man purely and perfectly bad: if a great and good prince, by some fatal delusion, had made choice of such a man for his first minister, and had delegated all his authority to him, what security would that nation have for its freedom, or that prince for his crown? The history of every nation, that once had a claim to liberty, will tell us what would be the progress of such a traitor, and what the probable event of his crimes.*

Let us suppose him arrived at that moment, at which he might see himself within reach of the great object, to which all the artifices, the intrigues, the hypocrisy, and the impudence of his past life were directed. On the point of having the whole power of the crown committed to him, what would be his conduct? an affectation of prostrate humility in the closet, but a lordly dictation of terms to the people, by whose interest he had been supported, by whose fortunes he had subsisted. Has he a brother? that brother must be sacrificed.† Has he a rancorous enemy? that enemy must be promoted.‡ Have

* This severe invective is aimed against the late lord Chatham, formerly the right honorable W. Pitt.—*Ed.*

† Lord Temple, brother-in-law to lord Chatham. They resigned their respective offices, the former of privy seal, and the latter of principal secretary of state, in October 1765. Lord Temple was succeeded by the duke of Bedford; and upon his resignation, by lord Chatham himself: during which administration lord Temple took no part whatever.

‡ The duke of Bedford.

years of his life been spent in declaiming against the pernicious influence of a favorite? That favorite must be taken to his bosom, and made the only partner of his power.* But it is in the natural course of things that a despotic power, which of itself violates every principle of a free constitution, should be acquired by means, which equally violate every principle of honor and morality. The office of a grand Vizir is inconsistent with a limited monarchy, and can never subsist long but by its destruction. The same measures, by which an abandoned profligate is advanced to power, must be observed to maintain him in it. The principal nobility, who might disdain to submit to the upstart insolence of a dictator, must be removed from every post of honor and authority; all public employments must be filled with a despicable set of creatures, who having neither experience nor capacity, nor any weight or respect in their own persons, will necessarily derive all their little busy importance from him. As the absolute destruction of the constitution of his country would be his great object, to be consistent with that design he must exert himself to weaken and impoverish every rank and order of the community, which by the nature of their property, and the degree of their wealth, might have a particular interest in the support of the established government, as well as power to oppose any treacherous attempts against it. The landed estate must be oppressed: the rights of the merchant must be arbitrarily invaded, and his property forced from him by main force, without even the form of a legal proceeding. It will assist him much, if he can contribute to the destruction of the poor by continuing the most burthensome taxes upon the main articles of their subsistence. He must also take advantage of any favorable conjuncture to try how far the nation will bear to see the established laws suspended by proclamation, and upon such occasions he must not be without an apostate lawyer, weak enough to sacrifice his own character, and base enough to betray the laws of his country.†

* Lord Bute.—*Ed.*

† This subject is fully explained in many parts of the letters of Junius, and in the notes now subjoined to them. The character alluded to is earl Camden, at that time lord Chancellor.—*Ed.*

These are but a few of the pernicious practices by which a traitor may be known, by which a free people may be enslaved. But the masterpiece of his treachery, and the surest of answering all his purposes would be, if possible, to foment such discord between the mother-country and her colonies, as may leave them both an easier prey to his own dark machinations. With this patriotic view he will be ready to declare himself the patron of sedition, and a zealous advocate for rebellion. His doctrines will correspond with the proceedings of the people he protects, and if by his assistance they can obtain a victory over the supreme legislature of the empire, he will consider that victory as an important step towards the advancement of his main design.*

Such, Sir, in any free state, would probably be the conduct and character of a man unnecessarily trusted with exorbitant power. He must either succeed in establishing a tyranny or perish. I cannot without horror suppose it possible that *this our native country*,† should ever be at the mercy of so black a villain. But if the case should happen hereafter, I hope the British people will not be so abandoned by Providence, as not to open their eyes time enough to save themselves from destruction; and though we have no Tarpeian rock for the immediate punishment of treason, yet we have impeachments, and a gibbet is not too honorable a situation for the carcass of a traitor.

POPLICOLA.

LETTER II.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

28 May, 1767.

SIR,—Your correspondent C. D.‡ professes to undeceive the

* Lord Chatham, then Mr. Pitt, opposed Mr. George Grenville's Stamp Act, and denied the right of the parliament of Great Britain to legislate for America.—*Ed.*

† This language indicates a writer who had lately visited foreign countries, where he had witnessed despotic rule, and returning to his own land, jealous of its liberties, thought he discovered symptoms of approaching tyranny.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ Poplicola, the writer of this reply, by some means or other mistook the real signature, which instead of being C. D. was W. D. The letter is dated from

public with respect to some reflections thrown out upon the earl of Chatham in Mr. Wilkes's letter to the duke of Grafton. Without undertaking the defence of that gentleman's conduct or character, permit me to observe that he was the instrument, and an useful one to the party, therefore should not have been sacrificed by it. He served them perhaps with too much zeal; but such is the reward, which the *tools of faction* usually receive, and in some measure deserve, when they are imprudent enough to hazard every thing in support of other men's ambition.

I cannot admit, that because Mr. Pitt was respected and honored a few years ago, the earl of Chatham therefore deserves to be so now; or that a description, which might have suited him at one part of his life, must of necessity be the only one applicable to him at another. It is barely possible, that a very honest commoner may become a very corrupt and worthless peer; and I am inclined to suspect that Mr. C. D. will find but few people credulous enough to believe that either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Pulteney, when they accepted of a title, did not, by that action, betray their friends, their country, and, in every honorable sense, themselves. Mr. C. D. wilfully misrepresents the cause of that censure, which was very justly thrown upon lord Chatham, when the exportation of corn was prohibited by proclamation. The measure itself was necessary, and the more

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Clifton, and is discussed down the post of Sir W. Draper; affording a singular proof that the Knight of the Bath and Junius were political opponents under signatures mutually unknown, and so far back as May 1767.—*Ed.*

Mr. Woodfall makes no remarks upon the gross absurdity in the manner of commencing this letter in answer to one written five months before. He was fearful to say any thing about it, lest he should expose the author. There can be no other reason given for his silence in this case, for he is in general extremely liberal of explanatory notes throughout the work.

The circumstance reminds me of a gentleman who was fond of relating long stories, and who, upon a certain occasion was interrupted in his narrative by the sudden departure of the person to whom he was reciting: but on meeting the same gentleman again, some twelvemonth afterwards, he renewed the subject by prefacing it with, "as I was saying," and then went on to conclude the story.—*Am. Edit.*

necessary from the scandalous delay of the ministry in calling the parliament together; but to maintain that the proclamation was legal, and that there was a suspending power lodged in the crown, was such an outrage to the common sense of mankind, and such a daring attack upon the constitution, as a free people ought never to forgive. The man who maintained those doctrines, ought to have have had the Tarpeian rock or a gibbet for his reward. Another gentleman, upon that occasion, had spirit and patriotism enough to declare, even in a respectable assembly, that when he advised the proclamation, he did it with the strongest conviction of its being illegal: but he rested his defence upon the unavoidable necessity of the case, and submitted himself to the judgment of his country. This noble conduct deserved the applause and gratitude of the nation, while that of the earl of Chatham, and his miserable understrappers, deserved nothing but detestation and contempt.

POPLICOLA.

LETTER III.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

24 June, 1767.

Accedere [illegible] nebulonibus, qui rempublicam interim premant, quandoque distrahant.—*Tacitus, 1° Annalium.**

The uncertain state of politics in this country sets all the speculations of the press at defiance.† To talk of modern ministers, or to examine their conduct, would be to reason without

To these reflections the public added their dread of a matter, raging with all the impotence of female ambition: a whole people, they said, were to be enslaved by a woman and two young men, who in the beginning would hang heavy on the state, and in the end distract and rend it to pieces by their own dissensions.—*Murphy's Translation.—Am. Ed.*

† Mr. Horne, in a letter to Junius, says, "Whatever may be the wretched state of politics in this country," &c. This passage and the one above evidently appear to be dictated by the same mood: they exactly agree in sentiment, and the similitude in the language could not well be avoided in expressing the same idea. There is no appearance of plagiarism.—*Am. Ed.*

data; for whether it be owing to the real simple innocence of doing nothing, or to a happy mysteriousness in concealing their activity, we know as little of the services they have performed, since it became their lot to appear in the gazette, as we did of their persons or characters before. They seem to have come together by a sort of fortuitous concourse, and have hitherto done nothing else but jumble and jostle one another, without being able to settle into any one regular or consistent figure. I am not, however, such an atheist in politics as to suppose that there is not somewhere an original creating cause, which drew these atoms forth into existence; but it seems the utmost skill and cunning of that secret governing hand could go no farther. To create or foment confusion, to sacrifice the honour of a king, or to destroy the happiness of a nation, requires no talent, but a natural *itch* for doing mischief. We have seen it performed for years successively, with a wantonness of triumph, by a man who had neither abilities nor personal interest, nor even common personal courage.' It has been possible for a notorious coward, skulking under a petticoat, to make a great nation the prey of his avarice and ambition. But I trust the time is not very distant when we shall see him dragged forth from his retirement, and forced to answer severely for all the mischiefs he hath brought upon us.

It is worth while to consider, though perhaps not safe to point out, by what arts it hath been possible for him to maintain himself so long in power, and to screen himself from national justice. Some of them have been obvious enough: the rest may without difficulty be guessed at. But whatever they are, it is not above a twelvemonth ago, since they might have all been defeated, and the venomous spider itself caught and trampled on in its own web.† It was then his good for-

* The earl of Bute.—*Ed.*

† Why was it not then done? Junius was absent from his country. The language conveys this idea fully. If Junius had been present and saw the corruption going on, he would undoubtedly have attacked it at the time, and not have remained silent, and then say, a twelvemonth after, as above, that the acts of the minister which had produced the evil might have been defeated.—*Am. Ed.*

time to corrupt one man, from whom we least of all expected so base an apostacy.* Who indeed could have suspected, that it should ever consist with the spirit or understanding of that person to accept of a share of power under a pernicious court minion, whom he himself had affected to detest or despise, as much as he knew he was detested and despised by the whole nation? I will not censure him for the avarice of a pension, nor the melancholy ambition of a title. These were objects which he perhaps looked up to, though the rest of the world thought them far beneath his acceptance. But, to become the stalking-horse of a stallion, to shake hands with a Scotchman at the hazard of catching all his infamy: to fight under his auspices against the constitution; and to receive the word from him, prerogative and a thistle: (by the once respected name of Pitt) it is even below contempt. But it seems that this unhappy country had long enough been distracted by their divisions, and in the last instance was to be oppressed by their union. May that union, honorable as it is, subsist for ever! may they continue to smell at one thistle, and not be separated even in death!

ANTI-SEJANUS, JUN.

LETTER IV.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

St. James's Coffee-house, 25 Aug. 1767.

Sir,—I have been some time in the country, which has prevented your hearing sooner from me.† I find you and your brother printers have got greatly into a sort of knack of stuffing your papers with flummery upon two certain brothers,‡ who are labor-in-vain endeavoring to force themselves out of the world's contempt. I have great good will to you, and hope you

* The earl of Chatham.—*Ed.*

† Attending to his parochial affairs at Brentford; which, from his long absence, probably required more than usual care.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ Lord Townshend, and his brother the honorable Charles Townshend, the former of whom had been lord lieutenant of Ireland, and the latter at this time chancellor of the exchequer.—*Ed.*

are well paid for this sort of nonsense, as indeed you ought to be, for it certainly disgraces your paper. It is in vain that your friends assure the coffee-house that these things are wrote by the brothers themselves; that you believe no more of them than the rest of the world does; and that you only put them in to show your extreme impartiality, which sometimes obliges you to insert the most improbable stories: I would therefore advise you as a friend, to give up this noble pair as *enfans perdus.*

I am not a stranger to this *par nobile fratrum.* I have served under the one, and have been forty times promised *to be served* by the other. I don't think it possible to characterise either without having recourse to the other: but any body who knows one of them, may easily obtain an idea of the other. Thus now; suppose you acquainted with the chancellor, take away his ingenuity, and a something, that at times looks something like good-nature, but it is not, and you have the direct and actual character of the peer: a boaster without spirit, and a pretender to wit without a grain of sense: in a word, a vainglorious idler without one single good quality of head or heart. I hope his affairs with Lord —— and Mr. —— are the only instances of his setting out with unnecessary insolence, and ending with shameful tameness. But is such a man likely to please the brave Irish, whose hasty tempers, or whose blunders, may sometimes lead them into a quarrel: but whose swords always carry them through it! Are these the pair, who are to give stability to a wavering favorite, and permanency to a *locum tenens* administration? Alas! alas!

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget: *

And is it by such a prop that Grafton thinks to stand, after throwing down his idol Pitt, at whose false altar he had before sacrificed his friends? Is it for such a man that Conway forego the connexions of his youth, and the friends of his best and ripest judgment?

A Faithful Monitor.

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* It is not such aid, nor such defenders that the times require.—*Am. Ed.*

Circumstances related by Junius respecting himself, that do not appear improbable, are worthy of notice so far as they tend to indicate the person of the author. Such are the remarks in the foregoing letter in regard to his connexion with the Townshends.

In the first place, it may be observed, (see Bissett's History of George III.) that on the resignation of lord Bute, the honorable George Grenville, brother of lord Temple, became prime minister—April 16, 1763. He was dismissed in May, 1765.

Mr. Bissett, speaking of the debates in parliament respecting the Stamp Act, observes, "Ministers had now (Feb. 1765) acquired a powerful auxiliary in the brilliant ingenuity of Mr. Charles Townshend, who had lately come over to their side."

Mr. Grenville was succeeded by the marquis of Rockingham; whose administration was of short continuance, being dissolved about the middle of 1766. A new administration was then formed by Mr. Pitt: of which the duke of Grafton, who had been secretary of state in the marquis of Rockingham's administration, was made first lord of the treasury, and general Conway, another member of the whig party, was continued secretary of state: his colleague was the earl of Shelburne. Mr. Charles Townshend, recently a member of the Grenville party, was appointed chancellor of the exchequer: lord chief justice Pratt created lord Camden, was made chancellor, and the earl of Northington president of the council: and Mr. Pitt himself took the privy seal. He was now called to the upper house, under the title of the earl of Chatham: but his acceptance of a peerage lessened his popularity.

Some changes in the cabinet were made in the recess of parliament, in 1767. Lord Gower accepted the president's chair, now resigned by the earl of Northington: and in consequence of the decease of Charles Townshend, lord North was promoted to his place as chancellor of the exchequer.

Mr. Bissett, in treating of measures which took place in Sept. 1766, says, "The opposition of the present ministry consisted of two parties, the Grenville and the Rockingham. A coalition was attempted between the former and the ministry, but without effect. Meanwhile Charles Townshend was

intriguing with the Rockingham party, and trying to effect the removal of the duke of Grafton: and, though he did not succeed, the administration was evidently discordant. Lord Chatham, on account of the bad state of his health, could not control, as formerly, the jarring elements."

The following character of Mr. Townshend is given by Mr Bissett:

"Although a man of genius, he appears to have been rather more fit for literary than political attainments, or much more anxious about currency of opinions than their weight; he was extremely inconstant. When the Stamp Act was popular in the house, he declaimed in its favor; when it lost its popularity, he voted for the repeal: and when the repeal was afterwards a subject of complaint, he proposed a new plan for raising a revenue. He took no time to form general and comprehensive views, and had no fixed principles of policy. As an orator, he was an ornament to the house of commons; but must have entirely changed his modes and habits, before he could be a very advantageous accession to the councils of his country as a principal statesman."

Under this gentleman, I apprehend, Mr. Horne *served* in 1765, in support of the Grenville administration, if not also in opposition to the Rockingham; and had "been forty times promised *to be served* by" his brother, lord Townshend. For it is stated in his memoirs by Mr. Stephens, that, "by the kind intervention of Mr. Levintz, apparently exerted through the channel of a *nobleman in high favor at court*, he was *promised* to be appointed one of the king's chaplains; and had a prospect of such other preferment as was sufficient to satisfy his wishes." (See p. 110, this volume.)

That Mr. Horne must have zealously supported some administration is evident from the expression of Junius in his letter of July 9, 1771, viz: "Mr. Horne's *new zeal* in support of administration." He certainly never supported any administration except it were that of the Grenville. No commentator on the letters of Junius has attempted an explanation of the above remark. Woodfall is silent upon it, for reasons before stated: or rather he endeavors to draw off the attention of the reader

from its import, by saying in a note, that "Horne had long zealously fought on the side of the stanchest Whigs, and was an active member of the society for the support of the Bill of Rights, which had just discharged Wilkes's debts," &c. What had all this to do with the support of a particular administration? The Grenville, the Rockingham, and the Grafton administrations all pretended to whigism.

Mr. Horne's violent philippic against the government, but more particularly against lords Bute and Mansfield, entitled "The Petition of an Englishman," was published in 1765; but it must have been after the dismissal of Mr. Grenville.

Although lord Bute was not in office at this time, yet, it is stated by Mr. Miller, in his history of this period, that "Since the earl of Bute's retirement from public business, the agents of faction (as he calls them) had been indefatigable in their endeavors to make the multitude believe, that no important measure was determined upon by government without his private advice: and that his successors in office were but nominal substitutes, or rather mere puppets exhibited on the stage, while he stood behind the curtain managing the wires that regulated all their motions. The great popular speakers in both houses of parliament took care to countenance, and, as far as they were able, to strengthen those reports by frequent insinuations of a secret influence."

Having made the foregoing digression, and the "North Briton" being alluded to by lord Chatham and Mr. Wilkes, and as No. 45 of the series, in consequence of the notice taken of it by the government, became a document of very considerable importance at the time, and is now often spoken of, I will here give an abstract of it; in which will be included the passages to which objections were made in the *Information* filed in the King's Bench, by the attorney general against the publisher, Mr. George Kearsly.

THE NORTH BRITON—No. 45.

April 23, 1762.

[The following advertisement appeared in all the papers on the 13th of April. The No. "But we make this appeal to the good sense, and to the candour of the

English nation. In the present unsettled and fluctuating state of the *administration*, he is really fearful of falling into involuntary errors, and he does not wish to mislead. All his reasonings have been built on the strong foundation of *facts*: and he is not yet informed of the whole interior state of government with such *minute precision*, as now to venture the submitting his crude ideas of the present political crisis to the discerning and impartial public. The Scottish minister* has indeed *retired*. Is his influence at an end? or does he still govern by the *three* wretched tools of his power,† who, to their indelible infamy, have supported the most odious of his measures, the late ignominious Peace and the wicked extension of the arbitrary mode of Excise? The North Briton has been steady in his opposition to a *single*, insolent, incapable, despotic minister: and is equally ready, in the service of his country, to combat the *triple-headed Cerberean* administration, if the Scot is to assume that motley form. By him every arrangement to this hour has been made, and the notification has been as regularly sent by letter under his hand. It therefore seems clear to a demonstration, that he intends only to retire into that situation, which he held before he first took the seals; I mean the dictating to every part of the king's administration. The North Briton desires to be understood, as having pledged himself a firm and intrepid assertor of the rights of his fellow-subjects, and of the liberties of WHIGS and ENGLISHMEN.]

Genus orationis atrox, et vehemens, cui opponitur lenitatis et mansuetudinis.
CICERO.

"The *king's speech* has always been considered by the legislature, and by the public at large, as the *speech of the minister*. It has regularly, at the beginning of every session of parliament, been referred by both houses to the consideration of a committee, and has been generally canvassed with the utmost freedom, when the minister of the crown has been obnoxious to the nation. The ministers of this free country, conscious of the undoubted privileges of so spirited a people, and with the terrors of parliament before their eyes, have ever been cautious, no less with regard to the matter, than to the expressions, of *speeches*, which they have advised the sovereign to make from the throne, at the *opening* of each session. They well knew that an honest house of parliament, true to their trust, could not fail to detect the fallacious arts, or to remonstrate against the daring acts of violence, committed by any minister. The speech at the *close* of the session has ever been considered as the most *secure* method

* Earl of Bute.

† The earls of Egremont and Halifax, and G. Grenville, Esq.

of promulgating the favorite court creed among the vulgar: because the parliament, which is the constitutional guardian of the liberties of the people, has in this case no opportunity of remonstrating, or of impeaching any wicked servant of the crown.

"This week has given the public the most abandoned instance of ministerial effrontery ever attempted to be imposed on mankind. The *minister's speech* of last Tuesday, is not to be paralleled in the annals of this country. I am in doubt, whether the imposition is greater on the sovereign, or on the nation. Every friend of his country must lament that a prince of so many great and amiable qualities, whom England truly reveres, can be brought to give the sanction of his sacred name to the most odious measures, and to the most unjustifiable public declarations, from a throne ever renowned for truth, honor, and unsullied virtue. I am sure all foreigners, especially the king of Prussia, will hold the minister in contempt and abhorrence. He has made our sovereign declare, "My expectations have been fully answered by the happy effects which the several allies of my crown have derived from this salutary measure of *the definitive Treaty*: the powers at war with my good brother, the king of Prussia, have been induced to agree to such terms of accommodation, as that great prince has approved; and the success which has attended my negociation, has necessarily and immediately diffused the blessings of peace through every part of Europe." The infamous fallacy of this whole sentence is apparent to all mankind: for it is known, that the king of Prussia did not barely *approve*, but absolutely *dictated*, as conqueror, every article of the terms of peace. No advantage of any kind has accrued to that magnanimous prince from *our negociations*, but he was basely deserted by the *Scottish* prime minister of England. He was known by every court in Europe to be scarcely on better terms of friendship *here*, than at *Vienna*: and he was betrayed by us in the *treaty of peace*. What a strain of insolence, therefore, is it in a minister to lay claim to what he is conscious all his efforts tended to prevent, and meanly to arrogate to himself a share in the fame and glory of one of the greatest princes the world has ever seen?

"In vain will such a minister, or the foul dregs of his power, the tools of corruption and despotism, preach up in the speech that *spirit of concord, and that obedience to the laws, which is essential to good order.* They have sent the *spirit of discord* through the land, and I will prophecy that it will never be extinguished, but by the extinction of their power. Is the *spirit of concord* to go hand in hand with the *peace* and *excise* through this nation? Is it to be expected between an insolent *exciseman*, and a *peer, gentleman, freeholder*, or *farmer*, whose private houses are now made liable to be entered and searched at pleasure? Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and in general all the *cider* counties, are not surely the *several counties* which are alluded to in the speech. The *spirit of concord* hath not gone forth among them; but the *spirit of liberty* has, and a noble opposition has been given to the wicked instruments of oppression. A nation as sensible as the English, will see that a *spirit of concord*, when they are oppressed, means a tame submission to injury, and that a *spirit of liberty* ought then to arise, and I am sure ever will, in proportion to the weight of the grievance they feel. *Every* legal *attempt of a contrary tendency* to the *spirit of concord* will be deemed a justifiable resistance, warranted by the *spirit of the English constitution.*"

CHAPTER IX.

FROM 1768 TO 1769.

Account of Mr. Horne's exertions to bring to justice the murderers of Allen, Bigby, and George Clarke.—His interference in the affair of John Doyle, and John Valline.—Comparison of his conduct with that of Junius in the foregoing cases.

Mr. Horne returned to England during the summer of 1767; and leaving the young gentleman committed to his care at the paternal mansion, he repaired to his vicarage, and resumed his former course of life. Having previously resumed his black coat, he proceeded as before to discharge the various functions attached to his office: which during his absence,

had been ably supplied by a curate. He had now held the chapelry of Brentford during a period of seven years, and was greatly respected by all around him, not only on account of his moral, but his companionable qualities, of both which, all men either are, or pretend to be judges, while his singular talents hitherto undeveloped to the public at large, were only unveiled to a few who knew how to admire and appreciate them.

The well known politician with whom he had become acquainted at Paris, in 1767, most unexpectedly offered himself about this period,* as a candidate for the county of Middlesex. Although the minister of Brentford was not ignorant of the vices of that celebrated character, yet he well knew how to distinguish between him and his cause: against the former, he was constantly on his guard; while in respect to the latter, he had always been favorable to it, and that too in no ordinary degree. Of his talents and intrepidity he was well assured, and by this time, he was not so ignorant of the world, as either to hope or expect that no one except a man of an immaculate character, should enter the forum as an advocate for popular rights.†

In May, 1768, a riot took place in St. George's Fields, and the military being called in, a young man of the name of Allen, who was afterwards proved to be an innocent and distant spectator, was unhappily put to death. Mr. Gillam, a magistrate who had given the orders to fire, was afterwards tried for his life, and on his acquittal, a copy of the indictment was granted him by the court, in express opposition, however, to the opinion of Mr. justice Gould, one of the judges who presided.

On these, as on all similar occasions, Mr. Horne repeatedly exposed his life to collect the witnesses, secure the supposed murderers, and bring the authors and actors to justice. He was at first promised by the party in opposition, that a parliamentary inquiry should take place in respect to that transaction: and in

* In March, 1768.—*Am. Edit.*

† Here follows a long account of Mr. Wilkes's electioneering campaign in Middlesex, which is sufficiently detailed in the letters of Horne to Wilkes, which will hereafter appear.

consequence of their intended intervention, forbore to publish the particulars, contenting himself with merely stating a few facts to the freeholders of the county, assembled at the Mile-End assembly-room. It was he, also, who supported the widow Bigby in "the appeal of blood," against the murderers of her husband. Being aware, from his knowledge of the ancient laws, that in a case of this kind, the king's pardon, which had been lately pleaded, could be of no avail, he retained Mr. Dunning at his own expense; but so novel was the practice, and so many the obstacles thrown in the way of that great advocate by the lord chief justice of the King's Bench, that it was found almost impossible to proceed.*

He also, nearly at the same time, interposed to bring Edward M'Quirk, a chairman of notorious bad character (who had been hired during the election at Brentford,) to justice, for the murder of George Clarke: but, although he was convicted of the crime by the verdict of a jury, yet the ministers were prevailed upon to grant a free pardon to the offender. On this occasion, Mr. John Foot, a surgeon, deposed, that the blow given had proved fatal to the deceased, and afterwards published an able pamphlet on this subject, which obtained him great credit: but I have since discovered by an original document, that although the chirurgical facts proceeded from his pen, yet that, with this exception alone, the whole of that very popular production was written by this zealous partisan of popular rights.

Nor did his intrepidity on this occasion prove less conspicuous than his talents. Thinking there might be some difficulty in obtaining a warrant from the magistrates to apprehend the rioters during the election at Brentford, he determined to effect his purpose by means of the constable of the night alone. Accordingly, accompanied only by that officer, he actually seized those who had participated in the murder of Clarke, while they were assembled at an ale-house in the neighbourhood of Covent Garden, although one of them on account of his gigantic figure,

* Mr. Stephens here subjoins in a note, an account of the murder of John Bigby, by two brothers of the name of Kennedy; the purport of which is given in G. Woodfall's Junius, which I shall soon copy.—

had been ironically denominated "the infant," and, notwithstanding liquor had been freely distributed, made them prisoners.*

An event occurred about this period, which serves to show that the subject of these memoirs, had already turned his attention to some of the most abstruse and difficult questions connected with the theory and practice of English jurisprudence.

In 1769, when *his friends* the aldermen Townshend and Sawbridge, happened to be sheriffs of London and Middlesex, sentence was passed at the Old Bailey, on John Doyle and John Valline, two Spital Fields weavers, who had been capitally convicted in the following words: "You, the prisoners at the bar, shall be taken from hence to the place from whence you came, and from thence to the *usual* place of execution; where you are to be severally hanged by the neck till you are dead, and may God Almighty be merciful to your souls." On Thursday the 9th of November, Mr., afterwards Sir James Eyre, the recorder, issued an order for their execution, in which he departed from the tenor of his former judgment, by means of the following additional clause, tending to aggravate the punishment:

"And whereas it hath been duly signified to me, that it is his *majesty's pleasure*, that the said sentence be executed in the most convenient place, near Bethnal Green Church, in the county of Middlesex: now it is hereby ordered, that the execution of the said sentence be made and done upon them, the said John Doyle and John Valline, on Wednesday the 15th day of this instant November; at the most convenient place near Bethnal Green Church, in the said county of Middlesex."

No sooner was Mr. Horne acquainted with this circumstance, than he condemned the alteration as a palpable deviation from the sentence, and not only denounced every variance on the part of the executive as illegal, but actually maintained that a literal obedience to the warrant would incur the guilt of murder.†

* Here follows an account of Mr. Horne's difference with the duke of Bedford which will be fully commented upon hereafter.

† This was probably founded on the opinion of lord Coke, who observes, "the judgment doth belong to the judge, and he cannot alter it: and the execution belongs to the sheriff, and he cannot alter it."

The sheriffs startled at an assertion of so singular an import, proceeding from the lips of a man already considered as a great constitutional authority, determined to take the best possible advice on this subject: and a case was accordingly stated for the opinion of Mr. sergeant Glynn. This, which is short and simple, appears to have been either drawn up with the privity or penned by Mr Horne himself.*

On November 30th, it was notified in an official letter, that the judges were of opinion, "that the time and place of execution are in law *no part* of the judgment: and that the recorder's warrant was a lawful authority to the sheriffs, as to the time and place of execution."

On this the sheriffs complained to the lord chancellor, of a "naked opinion," on the part of the judges; and lament, "that their doubts are overruled without being satisfied." They, however, at length complied, and the two prisoners were accordingly executed, at Bethnal Green, Dec. 6. 1769, by the civil power alone, as the sheriffs refused to accept of any military assistance whatsoever. From this moment, however, the mode of passing sentence has been altered, so as to accord with the objections before stated, and prevent any variation between the judgment and the order for execution.

Mr. Horne afterwards published the particulars of this transaction, under the title of "Genuine Copies of all the Letters which passed between the lord Chancellor and the Sheriffs of London and Middlesex, &c. relative to the execution of Doyle and Valline†."

* Here are given the opinion of Mr. Glynn, and the letters which passed between lord Camden, then chancellor, and the sheriffs upon this subject.

† Printed for R. Davis, in Piccadilly, 1770, with the following motto:

"In rebus novis constituendis,
Aut urgens necessitas aut evidens utilitas."*

We feel not the one, we see not the other.
Sir F. Bacon's Quotation and Comment.

* In establishing new institutions, there should be either urgent necessity or obvious utility.—*Am. Edit.*

Such of these papers, as were written by Mr. Horne, (and there is reason to suppose that he either penned or dictated all such as were subscribed with the names of the two city magistrates,) abound with able, learned, and sententious remarks. The notes too, are at once recondite and curious. Both will be prized by those whose studies have been directed to constitutional investigations, on account of their respective merits: and while the lawyer may be inclined to praise them for their research, the logician must at the same time be pleased with the order, skill, and ingenuity of the arguments.

It will, no doubt, be satisfactory to the reader to see how exactly Horne and Junius concur in sentiment: how these congenial spirits—*idem et alter*—labored together for the obtainment of the same end; who, if they possessed two bodies, were certainly actuated by the same principles and soul.

In regard to the affair of St. George's Fields, the reader is referred to extracts before made respecting lord Barrington's conduct in this case, p. 56, this volume: and also to Junius's letters, No. 37. In addition to which I transcribe No. 24, of his miscellaneous letters:

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

19 May, 1768.

Sir.—An officer of the guards on whose veracity I can rely, has informed me, that the secretary at war has thought proper to write a letter of thanks to the commanding officer of the troops lately employed in St. George's Fields.* The substance

* As this letter is frequently alluded to by Junius in the course of the present work, we shall here insert a copy of it:—

War Office, 11 May, 1768.

Sir,—Having this day had the honor of mentioning to the king the behavior of the detachments from the several battalions of foot-guards which have been lately employed in assisting the civil magistrates, and preserving the public peace, I have great pleasure in informing you, that his majesty highly approved of the conduct of both the officers and men, and means that his majesty's approbation should be communicated to them through you. Employing the troops on so dis-

of it, as well as I can remember, is rather of an extraordinary nature, and I think deserves the attention and consideration of the public. I understand that his lordship thanks them in the king's name, for their good behaviour, and assures them, that his majesty *highly approves* of their conduct. He farther engages his promise, that whatever bad consequences may ensue, they may depend upon the utmost assistance and support that his office can afford them.* Without entering into the evidence on which the coroner's verdict against an officer and some soldiers of the guards was founded, I shall not scruple to say that this mention of the king's name is very improper and indecent. The father of his people undoubtedly laments the fatal necessity which has occasioned the murder of one of his subjects, but cannot be supposed to *approve highly* of a conduct which has had dreadful consequences. An event of this shocking nature may admit of excuse and mitigation from circumstances of necessity, but can never be the object of the *highest royal approbation*:—much less was it proper to signify

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agreeable a service always gives me pain; but the circumstances of the times make it necessary. I am persuaded they see that necessity, and will continue, as they have done, to perform their duty with alacrity: I beg you will be pleased to assure them that every possible regard shall be shown to them; their zeal and good behavior upon this occasion deserve it; and in case any disagreeable circumstance should happen in the execution of their duty, they shall have every defence and protection that the law can authorise, and this office can give.

I have the honor to be, Sir, your most obedient and most humble servant,

BARRINGTON.

Field officer in staff waiting for the three regiments of foot-guards.
Officers for guard on Saturday next, lieut. col. Groin, &c. &c.—*Ed.*

* In the riot here alluded to, which originated from a vast concourse of people assembled together opposite the King's Bench prison, on May 10, in the expectation that Wilkes would be liberated from it on this day in order to take his seat in parliament, (it being the first day of its session,) about fourteen persons were shot and more wounded by the precipitate firing of the military. Among the rest was a young man of the name of Allen, who had taken no part in the tumult, and was slain in an out-house belonging to his father, (who lived in the neighborhood,) in the very act of imploring mercy of the soldiers who slew him. Some of the military more immediately engaged were secured by the civil power, and were on the point of taking their trial for the murder. And [illegible] to this transaction the letter alludes.—*Ed.*

such strong approbation of a conduct which includes a fact still *sub judice*, and the particulars of which are not yet known with any degree of certainty.

The secretary at war would have done better in confining his letter to the expression of his own sentiments. What he has said for himself, if I am rightly informed, will require more wit than he possesses to defend. For the mere benefit of the law, I presume, the prisoners will hardly thank him. It is a benefit they are entitled to, and will certainly have, whether he and his office interfere or not. If he means any thing more, let him look to his words. But I hold it to be highly unconstitutional as well as illegal, to promise official support and protection to either party in a criminal case wherein the king prosecutes for the loss of his subject. There is a degree of folly in a minister of the crown signing such a letter which looks like infatuation: but I hope the court of King's Bench, or some other court, will let him know what the law calls *abetment* and *maintenance*, and bring him to *his senses*. Yours,

FIAT JUSTICIA.

Junius refers to the case of Bigby, as follows, in his letters, No. 39, dated May 28, 1770:

"At any other period, I doubt not, the scandalous disorders, which have been introduced into the government of all the dependencies of the Empire, would have roused the attention of the public. The odious abuse and prostitution of the prerogative at home—the unconstitutional employment of the military—the arbitrary fines and commitments by the house of lords, and court of King's Bench:—the mercy of a chaste and pious prince extended cheerfully to a wilful murderer, because that murderer is the brother of a common prostitute,* would, I think, at any other time, have excited universal indignation.† But

* Miss Kennedy.

† Matthew and Patrick Kennedy had been concerned to suffer death for the murder of John Bigby, a watchman. Their sister, Miss Kennedy, was a prostitute well known to many of the courtiers of the day, and her intercession availed to attain for them, first a respite, and afterwards a pardon. The widow of Bigby, nevertheless, had an appeal against the murderers: and a new trial was appointed

the daring attack upon the constitution, in the Middlesex election, makes us callous and indifferent to inferior grievances. No man regards an eruption upon the surface, when the noble parts are invaded, and he feels a mortification approaching to his heart."

M'Quirk's case is thus noticed by Junius, in letter, No. 8, addressed to the duke of Grafton, dated March 18, 1769:

"By what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy to which you ever advised your sovereign, far from adding to the lustre of a character truly gracious and benevolent, should be received with universal disapprobation and disgust? I shall consider it as a ministerial measure, because it is an odious one, and as your measure, my lord duke, because you are the minister.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending, it was natural enough that government should give him every possible encouragement and support. The honorable service for which he was hired, and the spirit with which he performed it, made common cause between your grace and him. The minister, who by secret corruption, invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who, by open violence destroys that freedom, are embarked in the same bottom; they have the same interests, and mutually feel for each other. To do justice to your grace's humanity, you felt for M'Quirk as you ought to do; and if you had been contented to assist him indirectly, without a notorious denial of justice, or openly insulting the sense of the nation, you might have satisfied every duty of political friendship, without committing the honor of your sovereign, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But

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The friends of Miss Kennedy, however, bought them off by a present to the widow of three hundred and fifty pounds; and, in consequence, she desisted from appearing against the prisoners when they were arraigned.—*Ed.*

To a statement similar to the above, Mr. Stephens, in his Life of Tooke, adds: The money was "advanced by a nobleman with whom Miss K. then lived. Mr. Horne Tooke lately assured me, that the late Mr. Arthur Murphy was the person who paid the money; and that Mrs. Bigby, after haggling for a long time as to the amount, finally insisted on the whole being paid in gold!"—*Am. Edit.*

when this unhappy man had been solemnly tried, convicted, and condemned; when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the same services, and that no excuse for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the simplicity of his character; was it not hazarding too much, to interpose the strength of the prerogative between this felon and the justice of his country?"

Junius also addressed the following letter to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, on this subject, dated June 6, 1769. (See Miscellaneous Letters, No. 56.)

"Sir—I wish the duke of Grafton had thought proper to take the opinion of our gracious queen's solicitor-general* before he pardoned M'Quirk. That worthy lawyer is never at cross purposes with himself, and I dare say would have maintained the same doctrine in his closet which he has delivered for the instruction of the public. He says in his last volume, p. 12,† 'that the pains of death ought never to be inflicted, but when the offender appears *incorrigible*: which may be collected either from a repetition of minuter offences, or from the perpetration of some one crime of deep malignity, which of itself demonstrates a disposition without hope or probability of amendment: and in such cases it would be cruelty to the public to defer the punishment of such a criminal, till he had an opportunity of repeating perhaps the worst of villanies.'

What would this most respectable of all possible lawyers have thought of granting a pardon to a culprit, who had not only been convicted of a repetition of offences, and those not minute but atrocious, but who had actually committed murder? He certainly would have called it something more than cruelty to the public. His knowledge of the laws would have told him that the purpose for which this villain was employed by the ministry, was treason against the constitution:† that it was the

* Sir William Blackstone.

† In reference to Sir W. Blackstone's opinion relating to the Middlesex election. See Junius, No. 18.

highest aggravation of the crimes he committed in prosecution of it:—that murder, simply considered, is only an injury to the individual who suffers: or in the most enlarged sense, to society, in the loss of one of its members:—but that when it is connected with, and founded on, the idea of destroying the constitution of the state (which as far as Mr. M'Quirk's labors could be supposed to operate was certainly the case,) it then comprehends every quality, which can make an offence of this sort criminal in the eye of the law:—the injury to the individual;—a breach of the public peace and security in a civil light:—and a violation of that political system, on which the liberty and happiness of the community depend. Mr. Blackstone would have told the fiery duke, that to pardon such an offender would not only be a most scandalous evasion of law and justice, but the grossest insult to the common understanding of the nation.

His grace must then have applied to some lawyer of a more flexible character. There is a man, for instance, who seems to have hoarded up a treasure of reputation, not to last him through life, but to squander away at one moment, with a foolish indecent prodigality:—who is not ashamed to maintain an oral doctrine directly opposite to that which he had written, nor to deceive the representative after instructing the collective body of the nation. This man would willingly have accommodated his authority to the purposes of administration; and as for himself, he could suffer no loss, for which the vanity of an author would not have sufficiently consoled him. The respect due to his writings will probably increase with the contempt due to his character, and his works will be quoted, when he himself is forgotten or despised. SIMPLEX."

Mr. Horne, on his trial for a libel, (see Stephens's Life, vol. i. p. 455,) in his address to the jury, observed, "As for the charge itself, you cannot be ignorant that I am accused of the only unpardonable crime which can, at this time, be committed. I am accused of a libel. Murder, attended with the most aggravating circumstances, has been repeatedly pardoned; and treason, the blackest treason, against the family on the throne, and, what is of more consequence to us than any family, against the

free constitution of this country, has been not only pardoned, but taken into favour; and the estates of convict traitors have been restored to them and to their families.

"Whilst mercy and forgiveness, gentlemen, have been thus flowing unnaturally, in a full stream, over the highest mountains of iniquity, has any one of you ever spied the smallest rivulet descending towards the valley of the libeller? Has any man so charged, ever yet met with mercy?"

CHAPTER X.

FROM 1769 TO 1770

Dispute with George Onslow.—Junius and Horne act as one man in this affair.—Reflections.

It has already been remarked, that Mr. Horne, at this period of his life, had distinguished himself as a preacher; and, notwithstanding the tumult of election contests and the continual bustle and confusion incident to so many political struggles, he now actually found time to compose and publish a sermon. This seems evidently to have been written in the bitterness of disappointment; and, as it is supposed to be the only religious tract ever printed by him, a copious analysis shall be inserted in this place.

The text is taken from Psalm lv. 12, 13.

"It was not an open enemy that hath done me this dishonor: for then I could have borne it.

But it was even thou my companion, my guide, and my own familiar friend."

The divine begins by acknowledging himself to be sensibly affected with the pathetic impatience of David, who in all his other trials appears patient and resigned; but this he owns he could not bear. Few, it is observed, but have experienced a similar sensation. "And because a disappointment in friendship is the most common, and at the same time, the most stinging of all others—Listen to me, while I propose to you a

method how you may escape this anguish and never know. how sharper than a serpent's tooth it is to have a faithless friend,' &c.*

In July, 1769, Mr. Horne engaged in a dispute with Mr. George Onslow. This gentleman had been a warm supporter of the opposition, but having afterwards joined the court party, he obtained an office under the Grafton administration; and was now both considered and treated as a deserter from the popular cause.

The vicar of Brentford was not slow in exhibiting his resentments; for at a public meeting of the freeholders of Surrey, assembled at Epsom, he attacked this gentleman, who then happened to be one of the knights of the shire, and a member of the privy council, "as a man who would promise fair, but was incapable of keeping his word;" and he unadvisedly added, "that if Mr. Onslow would lay aside his privilege, he would lay aside his gown."

Soon after this, the following letter appeared in the Public Advertiser.

To the right honorable George Onslow, Esq.

"Sir,—I have heard from very good authority, that one of the lords of the treasury has gained a thousand pounds in a very common and usual manner, which is yet likely to be attended with a very uncommon and unusual consequence. Mr. —— applied to the right honorable Mr. ——, for his interest for a certain lucrative post in America. The gentleman was informed that a thousand pounds placed in the hands of Mrs. —— would

* This sermon had evidently a personal bearing upon Mr. Wilkes, and was so understood by him. This single specimen is sufficient to show, that the profession chosen for Mr. Horne by his parents was ill adapted to his genius, and fully accounts for his anxiety to change it for that of the law.

The remark of Mr. Stephens, that Mr. Horne, a regular clergyman in orders, "actually found time to compose and publish a sermon," will appear singular to the American reader; as in this country clergymen are supposed generally to compose their own sermons. In England, however, it is said to be different in respect to clergymen of the established church.—*Am. Edit.*

insure him the place. Mr. —— not having the money, prevailed on colonel —— to join with him in a bond for that sum to the lady to whom he was directed. So far, sir, all is in the common track; what follows is the wonderful part of the transaction. This lord of the treasury kept his word, and the gentleman was appointed to the office he had paid for! and stranger still, lord ——, who discovered this bargain and sale, is offended at it, and insists on the dismission of this lord of the treasury. Now, sir, I must entreat you to favor one of your constituents with the name of this lord of the treasury; for you no doubt, who sit at that board yourself, must be acquainted with him.

A Freeholder of Surrey."

Ash Court, 11th July, 1769.

This letter was answered by Mr. Onslow as follows.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

July 16.

"Sir,—Having just now read a letter containing by evident insinuation, a most audacious attack upon my character, printed by you in your paper of Friday last, asserting a gross and infamous lie from beginning to end: I do hereby publicly call upon you to name the person from whom you received the account you have presumed to publish. If you are either unable or unwilling to do this, I shall most certainly treat you as the author, and in justice both to myself and others, who are every day thus malignantly and wickedly vilified, shall take the best advice in the law, if an action will not lie for such atrocious defamation, and if I may not hope to make an example of the author of it," &c. signed, "George Onslow."

In consequence of this threatening letter of Mr. Onslow Junius writes to his printer, Mr. Woodfall, as follows:

July 21, 1769, Friday night.

"Sir,—Pray tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you *about prosecuting*. *Yes* or *No* will be sufficient. Your Lycurgus is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon town. And so I wish you a good night. Yours, &c.

Junius having obtained the required information from Mr. Woodfall, "the writer of the first address, now authorised the printer to give Mr. Onslow his name, and once more attacked the honorable gentleman as follows, in the same paper, July 28."

To the right honorable George Onslow.

"Good Sir.—If with another *innocent* man, lord Holland, you too, were ambitious to add to the list of Mr. Walpole's right honorable authors, you might, like him, have exposed yourself with more temper, and have called names in better English.

I should be sorry to libel you by mistaking your meaning, but the strange manner of wording your first sentence leaves me at a loss to know whether you intend that my letter, or —— your own character 'is a gross and infamous lie from beginning to end.'

You may save yourself the expense of taking 'the best advice in the law.' *Depend upon it* you can never 'hope to make an example of the author, when the publisher is unable or unwilling to give up his name.' And you need not wait for a jury to determine, that 'robbing a man is certainly a robbery.' But you should have considered, some months since, that it is the same thing whether the man be guilty or innocent; and whether he be robbed of his reputation or —— of his seat in parliament,"

"The letter written by you to Mr. Wilkes, tends more 'to wound your character and honor' than any other, and yet you pass it over in silence. But you shall, if you please, prove to the world, that those who have neither character nor honor, may still be wounded in a very tender part——their interest. And I believe lord Hillsborough is too noble to suffer any lord of the treasury to prostitute his name and commission to bargains like that I have exposed: but will, if he continues to preside at the board of trade, resolutely insist either on such lord's full justification or dismission.——*Hinc illæ Lachrymæ.*

You 'defy the whole world to prove a single word in my letter to be true: or that the whole is not a barefaced, positive,

and entire lie.' The language of the last part of this sentence is such as I can make no use of, and therefore I return it back on you to whom it belongs: the defiance in the first part I accept, and will disprove what you say."

"If any persons have done your character an injury by a charge of corruption, *they* are most guilty who so thoroughly believed you capable of that crime, as to pay a large sum of money on the supposition: (an indignity which I protest I would not have offered to you, though you had negotiated the matter, and given the promise yourself.) And yet I do not find you at all angry with them when they tell you their opinion of you without scruple.

Archbishop Laud thought to clear himself to posterity from all aspersions relative to popery, by inserting in his diary his refusal of a cardinal's hat, not perceiving the disgrace indelibly fixed on him by the offer. 'Mr. Burns has had the strongest recommendations from persons of undoubted veracity, and I believe on all accounts will be found to be perfectly capable and worthy of the employment.' The letter from Mrs. Burns to you does, by no means, declare her to be an idiot. Colonel ——, (whom you forbear to mention,) is a man of sense, and well acquainted with the world. It is strange they should all three believe you capable of this crime, which, 'of all others, you most hold in abhorrence.'"

Mr. Horne concludes this letter as follows:

"Thus, sir, you see how far I am from casting any reflection on your integrity: however, if notwithstanding all I have said, you are still resolved to try the determination of a jury, take one piece of advice from me: do not think of prosecuting me for an *insinuation:* alter your charge before it comes upon record, to prevent its being done afterwards: for though lord Mansfield did not know the difference between the words when he substituted the one for the other, we all know very well now that it is the *tense*, and not the *purport*, that must convict for a libel, which, indeed, almost every student in the law knew before.

A Freeholder of Surrey."

After the correspondence with Mr. Onslow was concluded, Junius writes to Mr. Woodfall as follows:

Wednesday night, Aug. 16, 1769.

"Sir,—I have been some days in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night. Your correction was perfectly right: the sense required it, and I am much obliged to you." Here, I apprehend, Junius made a mistake: and that, instead of having been in the country, he came from Brentford to town for the purpose of obtaining information and advice respecting the Onslow affair. He adds, "I know Mr. Onslow *perfectly*. He is a *false*, silly fellow. *Depend upon it* he will get nothing but shame by contending with Mr. Horne."* Mr. Horne said of Onslow, that he was "a man who would promise fair, but was *incapable of keeping his word*." Junius continues, "I believe I need not assure you that I have never written in any paper since I began in yours. As to JUNIUS, I must wait for *fresh matter*, as this is a *character* which *must be kept up* with *credit*. Avoid prosecutions if you can; but, above all things, avoid the houses of parliament,—there is no contending with them. At present you are safe, for the house of commons has lost all dignity, and dare not do any thing. Adieu, C."

By the foregoing it appears, that Junius was anxious to assure Mr. Woodfall that, notwithstanding the diversion which had occurred, he had not quit his paper; and an action for defamation having already been commenced against him by Mr. Onslow, he naturally advised his friend W. to avoid, if possible, the like predicament. As to *Junius*, he must wait for fresh matter, as that was a character which required a very different style from that of "A Freeholder of Surrey."

If Junius was not the author of this attack upon Mr. Onslow, why did he show so much anxiety about the threatened prosecution? Why did he not leave the writer to settle his own

* Horne, in his second letter to Onslow, says, "*depend upon it*, 'you can never hope to make an example of the author,'" &c.

business? Why should he hazard an unnecessary risk of exposure by meddling with other people's affairs! Why did he demand of Woodfall a laconic, categorical answer, *Yes* or *No*, in regard to the prosecution! What could Junius do in the case, provided the answer should be *Yes*, and he had no concern in the dispute?

Upon any other supposition than that Junius was the author of the letters signed "A Freeholder of Surrey," his conduct in this affair would appear impertinent, absurd, and ridiculous in the extreme.

Let it be remembered also, that the whole of the correspondence of Horne and Onslow upon this occasion is printed in G. Woodfall's edition of Junius, in notes, according to "the plan, *as devised by the author*," which occupy upwards of six close printed pages, in brevier type; and that this is done without any other apology than the slight notice taken of it in the private letters of Junius to Woodfall, as quoted above. This edition, the proprietor says, contains, "as far as may be, the POLITICAL WORKS of Junius." The desire to embody the whole of the political writings of the author, is the only justification that can be given for obtruding this correspondence among the letters of Junius.

It is moreover, not unworthy of notice, that Mr. Horne commenced this warfare under a fictitious signature, which was his usual custom in his writings of this kind, although he has endeavored to impress upon the public mind a contrary opinion. But, in this case, being confident of success in a court of law, if an action should be brought against him, and having no objection to a public quarrel with Mr. Onslow, he surrenders his name.

Mr. Stephens continues the history of this dispute as follows: after concluding the second letter of Mr. Horne, he says—

"As this letter was obviously an aggravation of the original attack, Mr. Onslow, who had by this time, perhaps, discovered himself unequal to a literary controversy with his unknown antagonist, determined to appeal to the laws for protection. Accordingly, on application to Mr. Henry Sampson Woodfall,

the printer, for the name of the author, the reply was: "The rev. Mr. Horne, and he has authorised me to tell you so." Immediately on this, instructions were given to commence an action against that gentleman, and greatly to the credit of the plaintiff, who had his choice of proceedings, this did not prove a prosecution at the suit of the king, on which occasion, the criminality and tendency of the supposed libel to disturb the public peace, would have been the only subjects for consideration: but a civil suit in which the accusation must appear to be false as well as scandalous, in order to entitle the plaintiff to compensation. The damages were laid at ten thousand pounds.

The trial took place at Kingston, on Friday April 6, 1770, before Sir William Blackstone, and a common jury of the county of Surrey, when Mr. sergeant Leigh opened the cause in behalf of the plaintiff. After briefly and ably stating the high rank and dignified situation of his client, he insisted, that the publication in question was a cruel and unjust attack on the character of that gentleman, not by a "common scribbler," but a man of abilities, "surrounded by friends, well known to the world, and considerable enough to be taken notice of." He added, "that it became Mr Onslow, either to sink under this imputation, gross and false as it is, or to vindicate himself to a jury of his country: and as for damages, he hoped they would be such as shall convince men for the future that, let their wit, capacity, or connexions be what they may, they shall not dare to prostitute them to so bad a purpose, as to attack wantonly, and without foundation, their neighbor's reputation."

On the examination of Mr. Woodfall, it appeared that the *first* letter, printed in No. 10,913, of the Public Advertiser, was the only one he was authorized by the defendant to acknowledge, and the only one, concerning which the plaintiff had inquired. The second appeared in another paper, and the printer had been induced to publish it, in consequence of a note written, as he believes, by Mr. Horne, which could not now be produced.

On this Mr. sergeant Glynn objected to any account being given of a written paper not produced in court, not destroyed by inevitable accident, or suppressed by the fraud of the defendant, the only

two cases wherein a person is permitted to give parole evidence. He added, "that the witness rested upon the testimony he was then giving, and of the conviction he hoped to obtain, to screen himself from prosecution; and this was not surely a case, when the common, ordinary, established principle of law is to be departed from."

Mr. Justice Blackstone declared his opinion, "that evidence should not be given upon *memory* of the hand-writing of a letter that is not produced, merely upon the comparison and similitude of hands; and, if it rested on that evidence, he could not permit the printed letter to be read as Mr. Horne's, without producing the written one."

Mr. Woodfall being again called, observed, that, in general, he never kept letters, as it would require a room as big as the largest barn in the county to hold them—that he had lately moved from one house to another, on which occasion, he supposes the letter in question had been destroyed—and that he had searched for but could not find it.—On his cross-examination, he acknowledged, that even the *first* letter was not published according to Mr. Horne's direction—and that there was a material variation, consisting of the addition of esq. in the first line.

Mr. Messing, who was also of counsel for Mr. Horne, remarked, that Mr. Onslow had undertaken to prove the *tenor*, and in this case, if there is any variation, however small, it would set aside this action: "There is a case,* where the word was *nor*, for *not*, the sense not being in the least altered, and the determination of the court was, that this variation was fatal. In the present instance there was also a variation, for it is written 'Ash Court, 11 July' in the paper just read, whereas it is the '11th' in the record, which comes within the objection cited."

On an appeal to the court, it was decided, "that they ought to prove the alleged libel mentioned in the declaration *literatim*, in the words, letters, and figures: if I admit the variation of a single letter," adds the judge, "I do not know where to stop."

* Queen and Drake, reported in Salkeld, 660.

if it is undertaken to prove the *tenor* of a libel, it must appear to be literally and numerically the same. Here the party has declared on the *purport*, which would have altered the matter. I cannot make a case of it, as desired, for then there must be a verdict for the plaintiff, which my brother Glynn will not consent to; but a motion may be made to set aside the nonsuit and obtain a new trial, upon the ground of my being mistaken in point of law."

In consequence of this decision, Mr. Horne escaped with impunity for the present; but a new trial was soon after moved for in the court of King's Bench, on the ground of "misdirection on the part of the judge." After hearing counsel on both sides this was granted; the usual preliminary steps were taken: and issue being once more joined by the parties, the cause was set down for hearing at the ensuing Surrey assizes before a special jury. On that occasion, a new count was added to the former declaration, for "defamatory words" spoken before the freeholders of the county against one of their representatives.

Although the defendant did not plead his own cause, yet he interested himself greatly in all the proceedings; and notwithstanding his high opinion of the abilities of his advocates, he differed with them about the mode of conducting the suit. It finally appeared, indeed, that he was right as to an essential point of practice, for they were overruled as he had foreseen by the chief justice.

The earl of Mansfield who presided on this occasion, was accused by Mr. Horne of hurrying on the cause a considerable time before the hour at which the jury had been summoned to attend, and in consequence of this, *talesman* were recurred to, for the purpose of filling up the places of five special jurors who had not yet arrived. Be this as it may, sergeant Glynn and Mr. Messing, both of whom had been again retained, insisted on the impropriety of prosecuting a constituent for making a charge openly, and in the face of his representative who had thereby an opportunity of clearing himself if innocent. They also contended, that no action for *words* will lie unless specific damages were proved: and above all, it was strongly and

repeatedly asserted by them, that the evidence respecting the letters was insufficient and directly in opposition to all the received maxims of law. Notwithstanding this, the chief justice in his charge, strongly urged the great impropriety, scandal, &c., of the various accusations made, and the defamatory libel uttered by the defendant, after which the jury gave a verdict for the plaintiff, with four hundred pounds damages.

Undaunted at the result, and doubtless rejoicing at an opportunity of contending with, and perhaps foiling this learned and eloquent judge at his own weapons, Mr. Horne determined to appeal to a superior tribunal. Accordingly on *November* 8, 1770, a rule was moved for in the court of Common Pleas, to show cause, why the second verdict should not be set aside, and the *26th of same month* was the day appointed for an argument on the question before the twelve judges. Mr. sergeant Glynn on this occasion re-stated his former reasons with his usual ability, and insisted that the last jury had acted not only under *misdirection* on the part of the judge, but that the latter had delivered a charge to them, in express violation of the received principles of law. As this was deemed a point of great importance to prevent a hasty decision, and give ample time for deliberation, final judgment was adjourned until next term. On the recurrence of that period, the judges on April 17, 1771, finally and unanimously declared in favor of the defendant, in consequence of which the second verdict was set aside.

This, of course, afforded no small exultation to Mr. Horne, who had directed and superintended the proceedings: as he had thus publicly proved in the face of the whole nation, that the lord chief justice, great and able as he assuredly was, could not now be considered as infallible: and from this day forward, he took every opportunity to arraign the conduct, underrate the talents, and oppose the opinions of that celebrated man. Nor did his resentment against Mr. Onslow end here: for he opposed him at the next general election, and being indefatigable in his canvass of the county, and a man of no common influence, contributed not a little to prevent his return. Perceiving the honorable William Norton, now lord Grantley, and who had just

returned from his travels, to be a young man of great hopes and promising talents, he warmly seconded his pretensions, which appear to have obtained general approbation, and that gentleman being accordingly elected, conducted himself so as to give entire satisfaction to all parties, until by the demise of his father, he became a peer of the realm.

It will be observed, that Mr. Onslow had obtained a verdict against Mr. Horne for 400*l.* damages—that on Nov. 8. 1770, a rule was moved to show cause, why this verdict should not be set aside, and the 26th of the same month was appointed for an argument on the question, before the twelve judges.

This was a crisis in Mr. Horne's affairs of some importance. A draft of 400*l.* with the additional costs of suit, on a country vicar, whose income amounted only "to between two and three hundred pounds per annum," would probably have put the parson to some inconvenience. The case called for the utmost exertion of the powerful mind of Mr. Horne. What was to be done? Boldly attack the chief justice.—Denounce him as a tyrant, unjust and partial in the exercise of his official duties.—Render him odious to the people.—Represent him in such a manner, that his associate judges, for the preservation of their own characters, will refuse to support him. These appear to have been the reflections of Mr. Horne upon this occasion: and accordingly on the 12th of November, four days after the application for a new trial, we find Junius writes a note to his printer, enclosing a philippic against lord Mansfield.

The note to Mr. Woodfall is in the following terms

Monday evening, Nov. 12, 1770.

"Sir,—The enclosed though begun within these few days, has been greatly labored. It is very correctly copied, and I beg you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands. I don't think you run the least risk. We have got the rascal down, let us strangle him if it be possible. This paper should properly have appeared to-morrow, but I could not compass it, so let it be announced to-morrow, and printed Wednesday. If you

should have any fears, I entreat you send it early enough to Miller, to appear to-morrow night in the London Evening Post. In that case, you will oblige me by informing the public to-morrow in *your own paper*, that a real Junius will appear at night in the London.—Miller, I am sure will have no scruples.

Lord Mansfield has thrown the ministry into confusion, by suddenly resigning the office of Speaker of the House of Lords.

What necessity could there be for so much haste in this case, except to give sufficient time for his letter to have its intended effect before the meeting of the twelve judges? It is highly probable, that this exposure of lord Mansfield's proceedings caused the reversal of his decision in the case in question.

The date of the letter to lord Mansfield, as usual with the communications of Junius, is taken from the date of the paper in which it appeared, viz. Nov. 14, 1770.

A few extracts are made as follows:

November 14, 1770.

"My lord,—The appearance of this letter will attract the curiosity of the public, and command even your lordship's attention. I am considerably in your debt, and shall endeavor, once for all, to balance the account. Accept of this address, my lord, as a prologue to more important scenes, in which you will probably be called upon to act or suffer.

You will not question my veracity, when I assure you, that it has not been owing to any particular respect for your person that I have abstained from you so long. Besides the distress and danger with which the press is threatened, when your lordship is party, and the party is to be judge, I confess I have been deterred by the difficulty of the task. Our language has no term of reproach, the mind has no idea of detestation, which has not already been happily applied to you, and exhausted. Ample justice has been done by abler pens than mine, to the separate merits of your life and character. Let it be my humble office to collect the scattered sweets till their united virtue tortures the sense."

"In contempt or ignorance of the common law of England, you have made it your study to introduce into the court where you preside, maxims of jurisprudence unknown to Englishmen.

The Roman code, the law of nations, and the opinion of foreign civilians, are your perpetual theme; but who ever heard you mention Magna Charta, or the Bill of Rights, with approbation or respect! By such treacherous arts the noble simplicity and free spirit of our Saxon laws were first corrupted. The Norman conquest was not complete, until Norman lawyers had introduced their laws, and reduced slavery to a system. This one leading principle directs your interpretation of the laws, and accounts for your treatment of juries. It is not in political questions only (for there the courtier might be forgiven,) but let the cause be what it may, your understanding is equally on the rack, either to *contract the power of the jury*, or to mislead their judgment."

"Even in matters of *private property*, we see the same bias and inclination to depart from the decisions of your predecessors, which you certainly ought to receive as evidence of the common law. Instead of those certain positive rules by which the judgment of a court of law should invariably be determined, you have fondly introduced your own unsettled notions of equity and substantial justice. Decisions given upon such principles do not alarm the public so much as they ought, because the consequence and tendency of each particular instance is not observed or regarded. In the mean time, the practice gains ground; the court of King's Bench becomes a court of equity; and the judge, instead of consulting strictly the law of the land, refers only to the wisdom of the court, and to the purity of his own conscience."

"When you invade the province of the jury, in *matter of libel*, you, in effect, attack the liberty of the press, and with a single stroke, wound two of your greatest enemies. In *some instances*, you have *succeeded*, because jurymen are too often ignorant of their own rights, and too apt to be awed by the authority of a chief justice."

It may also be remarked, that during the pendency of the suit with Onslow, Junius, for the purpose of showing a want of cor-

rect and consistent principles in Mr. Onslow, addressed the Printer of the Public Advertiser as follows:

17 November, 1769.

"Sir,—I will not pretend to say that the enclosed letter is a very severe libel on its right honorable author! And yet, Mr. Woodfall, you may safely print it; for though we have laws against self-murder, there are none against self-libelling.

A curious collection of correspondence, both political and amorous, has lately fallen into my hands, with which I shall from time to time furnish you, reserving the most extraordinary of both kinds till the last, *pour la bonne bouche*.

X. X."

The following is an extract of the letter enclosed by Junius, from George Onslow to John Wilkes:

"My dear Wilkes,—I am very sorry to have been prevented seeing you to-day; but I hope to have a good account of you by the return of my servant who brings you this: perhaps you may be better if more of our friends besides myself have missed troubling you to-day; as I'm sure, quiet and keeping down your wonderful flow of spirits must do you good. To most men in your situation such a caution would surely be needless, because men of less greatness of mind, and of a less noble spirit than yourself, would yield to such a load of damnable persecution, from the most dangerous administration that ever was in this country. But honest men like yourself know how to despise *it and them*, and to *rise* superior to them all." &c.

Junius adds the following note to his letter signed X. X.:

"Mr. Onslow was at this time persecuting Wilkes with all the acrimony in his power, in unison with the duke of Grafton, both of whom had, a few years before, professed the warmest friendship for Wilkes. Mr. Horne, not then at enmity with Wilkes, had just published the following letter, of a similar kind of which Wilkes had given him a copy:

'*To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.*

14 July, 1769.

Sir,—Many of your readers having seen an abuse on Mr

Horne, for the publication of a letter from Mr. Onslow to Mr. Wilkes, are desirous of seeing that original.'"

Then follows the letter of Onslow to Wilkes as published by Mr. Horne, much in the style of the foregoing, of which an extract is given.

The animosity of Junius towards Mr. Onslow is farther expressed in letter No. 44, April 22, 1771, in which, referring to doctrines maintained by Tories and Jacobites, he says, "If their present professions were sincere, I think they could not but be highly offended at seeing a question concerning parliamentary privilege unnecessarily started, at a season so unfavorable to the house of commons, and by so very mean and insignificant a person as the minor *Onslow*."

On the foregoing, Mr. Heron innocently remarks: "This gentleman had made himself *odious* to Junius and his friends, by a prosecution against Mr. Horne, on account of defamation in a speech at a public meeting: in which Mr. Horne said that *though Mr. Onslow should promise his assistance, he would not believe him*." Mr. Heron had forgotten that Junius pretended to know nothing more of Horne than what the latter had *communicated to the public* by his *letters*, alluding to those addressed to Wilkes, which were commenced in January preceding the date of the above letter, and are said to have rendered him *inimical* to Horne. The fact is, the commentators upon Junius have been completely confused by his artful, cunning management.

CHAPTER XI.

FROM 1770 TO 1771.

Mr. Horne suggests the idea of a Reply to the king, and obtains a Statue for the lord mayor—Founds the "Society for Supporting the Bill of Rights"—Countenances Bingley in his Refusal to answer Interrogatories.

MEANWHILE the ministers still remained unpopular, and the county of Middlesex, which was deprived of the services of its

representative, was eager, on all occasions, to attack their principles and impeach their conduct. On turning to the proceedings of this period, it will be found that the vicar of Brentford was not idle. Incited by his usual enthusiasm, he not only acted a conspicuous part on every public occasion, but for a time *exercised a kind of paramount jurisdiction over all the political proceedings of that day.* A variety of proofs of his influence might be here readily adduced; and the following extract from an address of the freeholders to the king, moved and carried by him, April 30, 1770, at the Mile-End assembly room, will at least tend to show that the language of those times was not deficient in energy.

"Your majesty's servants have attacked our liberties in the most vital part: they have torn away the very heart-strings of the constitution, and have made those very men the instruments of our destruction, whom the laws have appointed as the immediate guardians of our freedom. Yet, although we feel the utmost indignation against the factions, the honest defenders of our rights and constitution will ever claim our praise: but that the liberties of the people have been most grossly violated by the corrupt influence of ministers, since the days of Sir Robert Walpole, is too notorious to require either illustration or comment."

Not only petitions, but remonstrances to the throne, were at this moment meditated in various places. The counties of Middlesex and Surrey had requested his majesty to dissolve the parliament, in consequence of the illegal rejection of Mr. Wilkes by the house of commons, after having been returned for the fourth time, as knight of the shire. On March 28, 1770, the city of Westminster also voted a remonstrance, in which an allusion was made "to the same *secret* and *unhappy* influence to which all their grievances had been originally owing."

Nearly at the same time the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery of the city of London, in common hall assembled, resolved on "an humble address, remonstrance, and petition." But on the sheriffs repairing as usual to St. James's, to know his majesty's pleasure as to the day when they should attend to present the same, some difficulties were started on the part of the ministers:

however, in consequence of the spirited conduct of Mr. Townsend, the senior sheriff, who declined the intervention of the two secretaries of state, and refused to communicate to any other person than the king the subject of their message, an audience was at length obtained. On this occasion the citizens, as usual, complain to the sovereign: "that, under the same secret and malign influence, which, through every successive administration, has defeated every good, and suggested every bad intention, the majority of the house of commons have deprived your people of their dearest rights. They have done a deed more ruinous in its consequences, (add they,) than the levying of ship-money by Charles the First, or the dispensing power assumed by James the Second. A deed which must vitiate all the future proceedings of this parliament, for the acts of the legislature itself can no more be valid without a legal house of commons, than without a legal prince upon the throne.

Representatives of the people are essential to the making of laws, and there is a time when it is morally demonstrable, that men cease to be representatives; the time is now arrived: the present house of commons do not represent the people."

"The forms of the constitution, like those of religion, were not established for the form's sake, but for the substance; and we call God and men to witness, that, as we do not owe our liberty to those nice and subtle distinctions, which places, and pensions, and lucrative employments have invented; so neither will we be deprived of it by them; but as it was gained by the stern virtue of our ancestors, by the virtue of their descendants it shall be preserved.

Since, therefore the misdeeds of your majesty's ministers, in violating the freedom of election and depraving the noble constitution of parliament, are notorious, as well as subversive of the fundamental laws and liberties of this realm; and since your majesty, both in honor and justice, is obliged inviolably to preserve them, according to the oath made to God and your subjects at your coronation: we, your majesty's remonstrants, assure ourselves, that your majesty will restore the constitutional government and quiet of your people, by *dissolving this*

parliament, and removing these evil ministers for ever from your councils."

His majesty, in his answer, was pleased to signify his concern that any of his subjects should be so far misled, as to offer such an address and remonstrance. He at the same time pronounced the contents to be "disrespectful to him, injurious to his parliament, and irreconcilable to the principles of the constitution."

There can be but little doubt that Mr. Horne was minutely acquainted with every thing relative to this famous remonstrance, and it was then supposed that, if not the actual penman, he at least inserted some of the most striking passages, and corrected the whole. Indeed, it is a well known fact, that he transmitted a copy of it to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, accompanied with an account of the ungracious reception experienced by the citizens. The following forms the concluding passage:

"When his majesty had done reading his speech, the lord mayor, &c. had the honor of kissing his hand: after which, as they were withdrawing, his majesty instantly turned round to his courtiers, and *burst out a laughing*.

'Nero fiddled whilst Rome was burning.'"

For this very imprudent publication, a prosecution was immediately commenced on the part of the crown: but after the King's Bench had been moved on this subject, it was deemed proper to drop all further proceedings.

The city, *in its corporate capacity*, nearly at the same time, resolved to draw up and present a new address and remonstrance, which was accordingly effected on the 23d of May, 1770, and read to the king, seated on his throne, by the recorder. As this is known to have been wholly written by Mr. Horne, a copy of it shall be inserted in this place.

[An abstract only is here given.]

"Perplexed and astonished as we are, by the awful sentence of censure, lately passed upon the citizens of London, in your majesty's answer from the throne, we cannot, without surrendering all that is dear to Englishmen, forbear most humbly to

supplicate, that your majesty will deign to grant a more favorable interpretation of this dutiful, though persevering claim to our invaded birth-rights."

"Your majesty cannot disapprove, that we here assert the clearest principles of the constitution, against the insidious attempt of evil counsellors to perplex, confound, and shake them. We are determined to abide by those rights and liberties, which our forefathers bravely vindicated at the ever-memorable revolution, and which their sons will always resolutely defend: we therefore now renew, at the foot of the throne, our claim to the indispensable right of the subject, a full, free, and unmutilated parliament, legally chosen in all its members: a right which this house of commons have manifestly violated, depriving, at their will and pleasure, the county of Middlesex of one of its legal representatives, and arbitrarily nominating as a knight of the shire, a person not elected by a majority of the freeholders.

As the only constitutional means of reparation now left for the injured electors of Great Britain, we implore, with most urgent supplication, the *dissolution of this present parliament, the removal of evil ministers*, and the total extinction of that fatal influence, which has caused such a national discontent. In the mean time, sire, we offer our constant prayers to heaven that your majesty may reign, as kings can only reign, in and by the hearts of a loyal, dutiful, and free people."

His majesty, who was surrounded by his secretaries of state, the lords of the bedchamber, and a numerous court, immediately delivered the following answer:

"I should have been wanting to the public, as well as to myself, if I had not expressed my dissatisfaction at the late address.

My sentiments on that subject continue the same: and I should ill deserve to be considered as the *father* of *my* people, if I should suffer myself to be prevailed upon to make such an use of my prerogative, as I cannot but think inconsistent with the interest, and dangerous to the constitution of the kingdom."

This answer had been, of course, anticipated, and Mr. Horne, who was determined to give celebrity to the mayoralty of his

friend, Mr. Beckford, at the same time that he supported the common cause, had suggested the idea of a reply to the sovereign: a measure hitherto unexampled in our history. Accordingly, the moment the king had concluded, the first magistrate of the first city of the empire, who was dressed in the robes, and decorated with the insignia of office, instead of kissing hands, as usual, and then withdrawing, immediately approached the throne, and expressed himself nearly as follows, to the great surprise of his majesty, and the utter astonishment of the courtiers who surrounded him:

"Most gracious sovereign!

Will your majesty be pleased so far to condescend, as to permit the mayor of your loyal city of London to declare in your royal presence, on behalf of his fellow-citizens, how much the bare apprehension of your majesty's displeasure would at all times affect their minds! The declaration of that displeasure has already filled them with inexpressible anxiety and with the deepest affliction.

Permit me, sire, to assure your majesty, that your majesty has not, in all your dominions, any subjects more faithful, more dutiful, or more ready to sacrifice their lives and fortunes in the maintenance of the true honour and dignity of your crown.

We do, therefore, with the greatest humility and submission, most earnestly supplicate your majesty, that you will not dismiss us from your presence without expressing a more favorable opinion of your faithful citizens, and without some comfort, without some prospect at least of redress.

Permit me, sire, farther to observe, that whoever has already dared, or shall hereafter endeavor, by false insinuations and suggestions, to alienate your majesty's affections from your loyal subjects in general, and from the city of London in particular, is an enemy to your majesty's person and family, a violator of the public peace, and a betrayer of our happy constitution, as it was established at the glorious revolution."

Immediately on his return, Mr. Beckford communicated this novel circumstance to the members of the corporation, and dying soon after, by an unanimous vote of the city a statue of their chief magistrate was erected on purpose to commemorate

the event. The lord mayor, adorned with his robes of office, is represented in the attitude in which he addressed the throne; while the speech in reply, delivered by him on this singular occasion, is engraved in golden characters on the pedestal. This, as Mr. Horne lately acknowledged to me, was *his* composition, and in consequence of that circumstance he was accustomed to exclaim, "that he could not be deemed a vain man, as he had obtained statues for others, but never for himself!"

On this, as on the former occasion, he inserted a description of the procession, the speech of the recorder, and the rejoinder of the lord mayor, in the newspapers. No one was better calculated to give copies of those harangues than the person who had furnished the originals; and as to the occurrences at St. James's, he was enabled to detail the particulars from the lips of the members of the deputation. He concluded with the following satirical passage, conveyed under the form of a N. B.

"The writer of the above account having given great offence to some persons, by inserting in a former paper, that *Nero fiddled whilst Rome was burning*—and an information having been filed by the attorney-general against the printer in consequence, he takes this opportunity to declare, that it was not his intention to falsify an historical fact, or to give offence to better memories: he hopes, therefore, that it will be admitted as a recompence, if he now declares, that Nero *did not* fiddle whilst Rome was burning."

In regard to the transactions detailed above, on examination it will be found as heretofore, that Junius and Horne are so closely allied as to render their separation extremely difficult.

It will appear that the remonstrance and petition of the city of London, as well as the address to the king by the lord mayor, Mr. Beckford, both known to be written by Mr. Horne, besides the remonstrance of the city of Westminster, are all included among the notes subjoined to the letters of Junius in G. Woodfall's edition, in conformity to the *plan as devised by the author*, for embodying the complete *Political Works* of Junius.

We will now see what Junius says in regard to these petitions, remonstrances, &c.

MISCELLANEOUS LETTERS, No. 70.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

March 10, 1770.

Sir,—No man is more warmly attached to the best of princes than I am. I reverence his personal virtues, as much as I respect his understanding, and I am happy to find myself under the government of a prince, whose temper and abilities do equal honor to his character. At the same time, I confess, I did not hear without astonishment of the answer which some evil-minded counsellors advised him to return to the sheriffs of the city of London.* For a king of Great Britain to take time to consider, whether he will or will not receive a petition from his subjects, seems to me to amount to this that he will take time to consider whether he will or will not adhere to the fourth article of the Declaration of Rights. One would think that this could never have been a question in the mind of so gracious a prince, if there were not some very dangerous advice given in the closet. I now hear that it has been signified to the sheriffs, that his majesty cannot receive the petition, until he is informed of the nature of the assembly, in which it was composed. A king indeed is not obliged to understand the political forms and constitution of every corporation in his dominions, but his ministers must be uncommonly ignorant who could not save him the embarrassment of asking such a question concerning the first body corporate perhaps in the world. The sheriffs, I presume, will

* The following are the particulars of the dispute which occurred in presenting the petition of the 14th of March, 1770.

On Wednesday the 7th, the sheriffs attended at St. James's to know his Majesty's pleasure, when he would be waited on with the city address, remonstrance, and petition.

To which his Majesty was pleased to return the following answer:

"As the case is entirely new, I will take time to consider of it, and transmit you an answer by one of my principal secretaries of state."—*Ed.*

Then follow a letter from lord Weymouth to the sheriffs, and an account of their subsequent interview with his Majesty, &c.—*Am. Edit.*

hardly venture to satisfy so unusual an inquiry upon their own bare authority. They will naturally move the lord mayor to summon another common hall, to answer for themselves: and then, I doubt not, the corporation of the city of London will fully explain, to those whom it may concern, *who they are, and what is the nature of their assembly.* After all, sir, I do not apprehend that the propriety of the king's receiving a petition from any of his subjects depends in the least upon *their* quality or situation. He is bound by the declaration and subsequent Bill of Rights to receive all petitions from his subjects. What notice or answer the contents of them may deserve, must be considered afterwards. To refuse the petition itself is against law. I am persuaded, however, that nothing can be farther from the intention of our gracious sovereign, than to offer a gross affront to the whole city of London. It is evident that the ministry either mean to gain time for carrying some poor counter-measure, by means of the wretched dependants of the court, or to intimidate the city magistrates, and deter them from doing their duty. I think it therefore absolutely necessary for us to rouse in defence of the honor of the city, and demonstrate to the ministry, by the spirit and vigor of our proceedings, that we are not, what *they* are pleased to represent us, the scum of the earth, and the vilest and basest of mankind.

MODERATUS.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

March 19, 1770.

SIR,—I believe there is no man, however indifferent about the interests of this country, who will not readily confess, that the situation to which we are now reduced, whether it has arisen from the violence of faction, or from an arbitrary system of government, justifies the most melancholy apprehensions, and calls for the exertion of whatever wisdom or vigor is left among us. The king's answer to the remonstrance of the city of London,* and the measures since adopted by the ministry,

* The city of London, the city and liberty of Westminster, the counties of Middlesex, Surry, &c. had presented petitions to his majesty to dissolve the parliament, in consequence of the illegal rejection of Wilkes by the lower house

amount to a plain declaration, that the principle on which Mr. Luttrell was seated in the house of commons, is to be supported in all its consequences, and carried to its utmost extent. The same spirit which violated the freedom of election, now invades the declaration and bill of rights, and threatens to punish the subject for exercising a privilege hitherto undisputed, of petitioning the crown. The grievances of the people are aggravated by insults; their complaints not merely disregarded, but checked by authority; and every one of those acts against which they remonstrated, confirmed by the king's decisive approbation. At such a moment, no honest man will remain silent or inactive. However distinguished by rank or property, in the rights of freedom we are all equal. As we are Englishmen, the least considerable man among us has an interest equal to the proudest nobleman in the laws and constitution of his country, and is equally called upon to make a generous contribution in support of them; whether it be the heart to conceive, the understandstanding to direct, or the hand to execute. It is a common cause in which we are all interested, in which we should all be engaged. The man who deserts it at this alarming crisis, is an enemy to his country, and, what I think of infinitely less importance, a traitor to his sovereign. The subject, who is truly loyal to the chief magistrate, will neither advise nor submit to arbitrary measures. The city of London have given an example, which, I doubt not, will be followed by the whole kingdom. The noble spirit of the metropolis is the life blood of the state, collected at the heart: from that point it circulates, with health and vigor, through every artery of the constitution. The time

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ation having been returned for the fourth time as a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex. These petitions had not been graciously received: and the petitioners next assumed a bolder tone, and approached the throne with remonstrances upon the answers that had been returned to them. The remonstrance presented by the city of Westminster is contained in note to Private Letter, No. 22. The remonstrance of the lord mayor, aldermen, and livery, here referred to, was, after some difficulty, presented to his majesty, March 14, 1770. For the particulars of this dispute, see editor's note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXX. The following is a copy of the remonstrance, &c.—*Ed.*

Then are inserted the London petitions &c.—his majesty's answers—and the lord mayor's address to the king.—*Am. Edit.*

is come when the body of the English people must assert their own cause: conscious of their strength, and animated by a sense of their duty, they will not surrender their birth-right to ministers, parliaments, or kings.'

The city of London have expressed their sentiments with freedom and firmness: they have spoken truth boldly; and, in whatsoever light their remonstrance may be represented by courtiers, *I defy the most subtle lawyer in this country* to point out a single instance in which they have exceeded the truth.* Even that assertion which we are told is most offensive to parliament, in the theory of the English constitution, is strictly true. If any part of the representative body be not chosen by the people, that part vitiates and corrupts the whole. If there be a defect in the representation of the people, that power, which alone is equal to the making of the laws in this country, is not complete, and the acts of parliament, under that circumstance, are not the acts of a pure and entire legislature. I speak of the theory of our constitution; and whatever difficulties or inconveniences may attend the practice, I am ready to maintain that as far as the fact deviates from the principle, so far the practice is vicious and corrupt. I have not heard a question raised upon any other part of the remonstrance. That the principle on which the Middlesex election was determined, is more pernicious in its effects than either the levying of ship-money by Charles the First, or the suspending power assumed by his son, will hardly be disputed by any man who understands or wishes well to the English constitution. It is not an act of open violence done by the king, or any direct or palpable breach of the laws attempted by his minister, that can ever endanger the liberties of this country. Against such a king or minister the people would immediately take the alarm, and all parties unite to oppose him. The laws may be grossly violated in particular instances, without any direct attack upon the whole system. Facts of that kind stand alone; they are attributed to necessity, not defended upon principle. We can never be really

* This appears very like the language of an author vindicating his own works.

in danger, until the forms of parliament are made use of to destroy the substance of our civil and political liberties: until parliament itself betrays its trust, by contributing to establish new principles of government, and employing the very weapons committed to it by the collective body to stab the constitution.

As for the terms of the remonstrance, I presume it will not be affirmed, by any person less polished than a gentleman usher, that this is a season for compliments. Our gracious king, indeed, is abundantly civil to himself. Instead of an answer to a petition, his majesty very graciously pronounces his own panegyric; and I confess that, as far as his personal behaviour, or the royal purity of his intentions is concerned, the truth of those declarations which the minister has drawn up for his master, cannot *decently* be disputed. In every other respect, I affirm, that they are absolutely unsupported either in argument or fact: I must add, too, that supposing the speech were otherwise unexceptionable, it is not a direct answer to the petition of the city. His majesty is pleased to say, that he is always ready to receive the request of his subjects; yet the sheriffs were twice sent back with an excuse: and it was certainty debated in council whether or no the magistrates of the city of London should be admitted to an audience. Whether the remonstrance be or be not injurious to parliament, is the very question between the parliament and the people, and such a question as cannot be decided by the assertion of a third party, however respectable. That the petitioning for a dissolution of parliament is irreconcilable with the principles of the constitution, is a new doctrine. His majesty, perhaps, has not been informed, that the house of commons themselves, have by a formal resolution, admitted it to be the right of the subject. His majesty proceeds to assure us, that he has made the laws the rule of his conduct. Was it in ordering or permitting his ministers to apprehend Mr. Wilkes by a general warrant? Was it in suffering his ministers to revive the obsolete maxim of *nullum tempus*, to rob the duke of Portland of his property, and thereby give a decisive turn to a county election? Was it in erecting a chamber consultation of surgeons, with authority to examine into and supersede the legal verdict of a jury? Or did his majesty consult the laws of

his country, when he permitted his secretary of state to declare, that, whenever the civil magistrate is trifled with, a military force must be sent for, *without the delay of a moment*, and effectually employed! Or was it in the barbarous exactness with which this illegal, inhuman doctrine was carried into execution? If his majesty had recollected these facts, I think he would never have said, at least with any reference to the measures of his government, that he had made the laws the rule of his conduct. To talk of preserving the affections, or relying on the support of his subjects, while he continues to act upon these principles, is, indeed, paying a compliment to their loyalty, which, I hope, they have too much spirit and understanding to deserve.

His majesty, we are told, is not only punctual in the performance of his own duty, but careful not to assume any of those powers which the constitution has placed in other hands. Admitting this last assertion to be strictly true, it is no way to the purpose. The city of London have not desired the king to assume a power placed in other hands. If they had, I should hope to see the person who dared to present such a petition immediately impeached. They solicit their sovereign to exert that constitutional authority which the laws have vested in him, for the benefit of his subjects. They call upon him to make use of his lawful prerogative in a case which our laws evidently supposed might happen, since they have provided for it by trusting the sovereign with a discretionary power to dissolve the parliament. This request will, I am confident, be supported by remonstrances from all parts of the kingdom. His majesty will find, at last, that this is the sense of his people; and that it is not his interest to support either ministry or parliament at the hazard of a breach with the collective body of his subjects. That he is king of a free people, is indeed his greatest glory. That he may long continue the king of a free people is the second wish that animates my heart. The first is, *that the people may be free.* JUNIUS.

It was about this time that the zeal of this industrious politician contrived a new mode of attack on an administration, which was peculiarly odious to him, and, it must be fairly con-

fessed, not a little obnoxious to the nation at large. Tacitus has observed, with his usual penetration, that the spirit of resistance first displays itself in great cities; as in these, men possess frequent opportunities of comparing grievances and forming plans for the redress of their real wrongs. And this effect was now actually produced in the British capital by the ministers themselves.

This was deemed a favorable conjuncture, therefore, to organize a new, as well as formidable species of opposition, and, by means of political associations, to concentrate the hitherto unheeded resentments and influence of a number of scattered individuals into one formidable mass, which, without either the forms or restraints of a body politic, should produce all the spirit, zeal, and effect of a great corporation. Clubs, such as these alluded to, seem to have been unknown to the free states of antiquity, the inhabitants of which usually recurred to arms in the first instance, and fought rather than deliberated. Like the press, they constitute a modern and formidable engine, and have accordingly been viewed with a certain degree of jealousy by every government. These institutions, which may be traced to Italy during the middle ages, appear to have originated in this country about the time of the civil wars, and the first one, perhaps, mentioned in our history, is the "Rota," in which questions were finally decided by means of a ballot.[1]

A multitude of associations of this kind had been suddenly created, and were either denominated after the places in which they assembled, such as "Appleby's" and the "Standard Tavern," or designated by the views of the leading members, like the "Antigallicans," the "Retrospection," &c. These being generally more numerous than respectable, it was at length determined, in 1769, to form one, which should have for its main object the preservation of the constitution, as it had been established at the revolution, and at the suggestion of Mr. Horne, who may be considered as the founder, it assumed the denomination of the "Society for supporting the Bill of Rights." This

[1] See the Life of Harrington, prefixed to the "Oceana."

met at stated times, at the London Tavern, and the following appear to have been the original members:

Sir John Bernard, bart.
Sir Francis Blake Delaval, K. B.
Sir Joseph Mawbey, bart.
Mr. sergeant Glynn, M. P. for the county of Middlesex.
Lord Mountmorris.
Rev. Dr. Wilson, rector of St. Stephen, Walbroke.
Rev. John Horne.
Mr. sergeant Adair, afterwards recorder of London.
The alderman Wilkes, M. P. for Middlesex.
———— Sawbridge, M. P. for London.
———— Oliver, M. P. for London.
———— Townshend, M. P. for Calne.
Robert Morris, esq. a barrister, was chosen honorary secretary; and
William Tooke, esq. treasurer.

This society was originally instituted for the express purpose of supporting all those whose rights had been violated, whose fortunes had been injured, or whose persons had been seized and imprisoned, in opposition to the laws of the land. The members were few at first, but respectable both for wealth and talents. Their meetings, their speeches, their resolutions, and, above all their subscriptions, were attended with powerful effects. They inflamed the zeal of each other; they inspired the public mind with energy, vigor, and resentment; they supported those who were doomed to expiate their political offences by a rigorous imprisonment: and they found means to agitate some critical questions in the courts of justice, the decision of which was attended with wonderful effect. Mr. Horne, as has already been intimated, was a leading man in this society: and there is reason to suppose, that he either drew up the whole or part of the following instructions, intended to be presented by way of *test*, to all candidates, before their election to serve in parliament.

Resolves of the supporters of the Bill of Rights, on the 23d of July, 1771, at the London Tavern.

[These resolves are here omitted, but will appear in the correspondence of Junius and Wilkes.]

Mr. Stephens, so far from having any reason to *suppose* that Mr. Horne had any hand in drawing up the instructions referred to, must have *known*, by his own showing, that Mr. Horne had quit the Bill of Rights Society nearly five months before the Resolves here enumerated were passed. But Junius, in his private letters to Wilkes, severely criticises these resolutions, to some of which he was strongly opposed, particularly that which recommends annual parliaments. For this reason alone it is here fraudulently attempted to make Mr. Horne the author of them. Mr. Stephens was, no doubt, instructed, when confidential communications were made to him, not only to suppress some facts, but to give a latitude to his remarks tending to establish erroneous opinions. I shall hereafter produce a more glaring instance than the one under consideration, of his endeavor to mislead his readers. His object for so doing cannot be mistaken.

It will soon appear from the correspondence of Horne and Wilkes, that the former quit the Society on the 26th of February, 1771. Wilkes, in a letter to Horne, dated June 20, more than a month before the passing of the resolves alluded to, says, "Although you have *deserted* the Society, it is still incumbent on you to acquaint them of any fraud or collusion you have discovered."

Mr. Stephens himself, a few pages after he had attributed the authorship of those resolves to Mr. Horne, says, "The dispute concerning this individual, (Bingley, which happened Feb. 26,) caused the dissolution of the club, known by the denomination of the 'Supporters of the Bill of Rights.' This was *immediately* followed by the institution of the 'Constitutional Society.'"

Mr. Stephens continues his memoir as follows:

The publications and donations of this society appear, indeed, to have produced a wonderful effect on the public mind. It was in this, and similar assemblies, that the question relative to the Middlesex election, by being frequently debated, still continued

to harass ministers, and irritate the people against them. It was there, also, that the doctrine of interrogatories was first probed to the quick; that the right of commitment on the part of the house of commons was originally agitated, and rendered doubtful; while, by the spirited intervention of the members, a humble mechanic, with right on his side, was enabled to foil the lord chief justice of England.

By means of this association, the press was enabled to contend on more equal terms against the current of power. The printers of three popular newspapers were encouraged and supported by its votes and its bounty; and it not unfrequently happened, that a sentence of the court of King's Bench, instead of overwhelming with poverty, contributed not a little to the prosperity of the delinquent. In consequence of its unabating exertions too, the debts of Mr. Wilkes, to a very large amount, were either paid or compounded: and it seems to have been the general intention, not only to have cleared him from all incumbrances, but to have crowned the whole, by purchasing a large annuity, which, together with the remainder of his fortune, would have placed him equally above want and meanness.

But this society, originally intended for general purposes, was at length narrowed, by the arts of a few interested persons, into a committee for the exclusive benefit of a single individual. Mr. Horne, although he had taken an active part to promote the success and relieve the distresses of Mr. Wilkes, was of course indignant at the idea. In addition to this, at that very moment he had two favorite plans in view, connected with each other and with the common cause; both of which he wished to be powerfully supported by the influence, the reputation, and the treasury of the Bill of Rights. One of these respected a point of law intimately connected with the liberty of the subject; the other had for its object the freedom of the press, and the right of the constituents to become acquainted with the deliberations of their representatives on public affairs. Of these two questions, he wished to agitate the former immediately.

A printer, of the name of Bingley, had been prosecuted for

publishing a letter, from Mr. Wilkes, reflecting on the administration and the courts of justice. On this occasion, the evidence being too defective for conviction, lord Mansfield adopted a novel, and, as it finally proved, an illegal mode of proceeding, never before practised since the abolition of the star chamber: for, in express defiance of that noble principle of English jurisprudence, which wisely and humanely precludes a party from criminating himself, this great man, had been induced from his hatred to libels, by which his own character was now almost daily assailed, to examine this person, and, if possible, extract a confession of guilt from his own mouth. He accordingly made a *rule of court*, for this express purpose, and appointed a day to answer certain questions, on failure of which, he was to be committed for contempt.

The doctrine of conviction, by means of interrogatories, here alluded to, is familiar to the imperial law, in which, the intervention of a jury, that noble bulwark of gothic liberty, is unknown, an arbitrary power of decision being placed in the breast of a single man. This mode of proceeding was at length adopted in the ecclesiastical courts of this country, and continued for ages, until it was enacted by statute,* that it shall not be lawful for any bishop or ecclesiastical judge, to tender or administer to any person whatsoever, any oath, whereby he may be compelled to confess, accuse, or purge himself of any criminal matter, by which he might be liable to punishment. Our municipal tribunals, indeed, never once entertained the idea of obliging a man to disclose his own guilt; but the learned judge, just alluded to, chose to consider this particular case, as a flagrant *contempt of court*, on which occasion, an attachment usually issues, and the party must either stand committed, or put in bail, in order to answer upon oath to such interrogatories as shall be administered to him, for the better information of the judges presiding.

Such was precisely the case of Bingley, and a man less resolute would have sunk under the pressure of authority. Even he, perhaps, might either have been terrified, or persuaded to

* 13 Car. II. c. 12.

yield, but for the subject of this memoir, who held out the prospect of fame and of advantage; and, at length, succeeded in giving the appearance of a public, and even a national cause, to what at first had been a mere act of self-defence, on the part of an obscure mechanic. The vicar of Brentford rejoiced at an opportunity of once more entering the lists with this eminent judge: and by long study and painful research, had endeavored to qualify himself for the arduous contest. After tracing the stream of our laws to their fountain-head, and drinking at the source, he conceived that they had been rendered obscure and sophisticated in their descent. He had long viewed the conduct of the earl of Mansfield with a suspicious eye, and, on comparing his doctrines with those of lord Coke and the celebrated men of former times, he thought he had discovered certain assumptions of power, neither justified by the text nor the practice of our ancient institutions. He rejoiced, therefore, at the happy occasion, now presented by fortune, to vindicate the principles of our municipal code, and, if possible, to humble a nobleman, whom he was pleased afterwards to compare not only to the Tresylians, the Keylings, and the Scroggs, but even to the Jefferies of former days.

Nor was he on this occasion wholly disappointed. Having called on the object of prosecution, he communicated his opinion of the injustice committed in respect to him, and found means to inspire this man with a stubborn determination to resist. Proud of the protection and encouragement he now received, fully convinced that he was correct in point of law, and holding himself forth as a martyr for liberty, at a time when all such were sure of support, this printer, hardly serious at first, and who might at any time have been liberated on a slight acknowledgment, now evinced all the courage of a hero. Flaming with zeal, he not only braved the rigors of a long confinement, but actually found means to take a voluntary oath, before a magistrate, in which he swore, "sooner to perish in a jail than violate the freedom of his native country, by answering to interrogatories, *unless put to the torture*:" a resolution from which he never once swerved.

This person was now in the third year of his imprisonment.

and the vicar of Brentford, who had occasionally supplied his necessities, determined to raise a large subscription for, and thus fully indemnify him, for the losses he had sustained. Several opulent and respectable men had come forward on this occasion, and advanced sums to a considerable amount; but the name and influence of the "Bill of Rights" was still wanting. This, however, was supposed to follow of course: and no doubt, indeed, could have been entertained of it, but for the interposition of that very person, for whose writings the printer had already experienced a long and unprecedented confinement, and who now affected to think, and to declare, that the society was solely devoted to his support, and pledged for the relief of his necessities alone. Accordingly, when it was moved, "that a subscription, to the amount of five hundred pounds, be opened for Mr. Bingley, for having refused to answer interrogatories, and submit to the illegal mode of attachment," the patriotic alderman, his brother, his attorney, and a great body of his friends, found means to negative the proposition, although it had been repeatedly urged, that it was extremely politic at that moment, in order to encourage the printers to resist the menaces of the house of commons, and that the abandonment of this spirited individual to his fate, would inevitably produce doubt, distraction, and despondency.

Bingley, however, was amply rewarded for his zeal and perseverance: and, while he himself thus acquired a certain degree of consequence, he became, at the same time the humble, but meritorious instrument of great and lasting advantages to the community at large. Before such a cause, supported with such intrepidity and resolution, even lord Mansfield himself was obliged to succumb. Tired with a struggle which, while it laid him open to the most invidious accusations, on the part of his enemies, seemed to tarnish the lustre of his reputation in the eyes of his friends, and alarmed also, perhaps, at the threats of parliamentary investigation, he at length reluctantly consented to yield. The attorney-general was, therefore, instructed to move the court of King's Bench, for the discharge of the prisoner; and the latter was accordingly restored to his liberty, his family, and society, neither ruined nor dismayed by a per-

sonal contest with the greatest chief justice which England had beheld since the days of lord Coke. Thus, to the pertinacity of a petty artisan, aided, counselled, and supported by the minister of Brentford, the nation is indebted for the abolition of a practice, unsanctioned by our admirable municipal code; and which, although it might have occasionally entrapped a criminal, would have rendered the laws nugatory, and innocence itself insecure.*

The dispute concerning this individual was productive of a variety of remarkable, although far inferior events, particularly the dissolution of the club, known by the denomination of the "Supporters of the Bill of Rights." This was immediately followed by the institution of the "Constitutional Society, consisting chiefly of the most respectable of the old members, with an exclusion, however, of the Wilkites: and doubtless gave birth to the "Whig Club," the "Friends of the People," and the "London Corresponding Society," in latter times. Other results, which followed this singular contest, will be noticed hereafter: more especially the paper contest between the two

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* Junius thus notices the case of Bingley, in a letter addressed to lord Mansfield, dated Nov. 14, 1770:

"The injustice done to an individual is sometimes of service to the public. Facts are apt to alarm us more than the most dangerous principles. The sufferings and firmness of a printer have roused the public attention. You knew and felt that your conduct would not bear a parliamentary inquiry; and you hoped to escape it by the meanest, the basest sacrifice of dignity and consistency that ever was made by a great magistrate. Where was your firmness, where was that vindictive spirit, of which we have seen so many examples, when a man so inconsiderable as Bingley could force you to confess, in the face of this country, that, for two years together, you had illegally deprived an English subject of his liberty, and that he had triumphed over you at last? Yet, I own, my lord, that yours is not an uncommon character. Women, and men like women, are timid, vindictive, and irresolute. Their passions counteract each other, and make the same creature at one moment hateful, at another contemptible. I trust, my lord, some time will elapse before you venture to commit another Englishman for refusing to answer interrogatories."

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* The oppression of an obscure individual gave birth to the famous Habeas Corpus Act of 31 Car. II. which is frequently considered as another Magna Charta of this kingdom.—*Blackstone* iii. 135.

chiefs, which occasioned a fatal schism among the friends of the common cause; and, while it displayed the literary powers of the two principal combatants, afforded ample exultation to the enemies of both; and, like wars of another kind, finally proved of but little service to either of the belligerents.

CHAPTER XII.

LETTERS FROM JOHN HORNE TO JOHN WILKES.

1774.

It was almost impossible, from the nature of human affairs, that two such men as Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne could agree during any long period; for their characters, dispositions, and ultimate aims, were entirely dissimilar. The one, perpetually instigated by his necessities, endeavored to convert the current of public generosity to his own private advantage; while the other, at once economical and disinterested, wished to distribute it into different channels, for the benefit and advantage of the community at large. In addition to this, they were both gifted with superior talents; and both equally avaricious of fame, although they approached her temple by different paths. Each, also, perhaps, considered himself best calculated for command, and most worthy of public esteem.

The minister of Brentford was, indeed, desirous of rendering the alderman of London independent, not out of any personal regard to him, but merely with a view of proving to the world, that, in a free country, it is not in the power of a premier to ruin and overwhelm an individual, whose cause was of a public nature. He was anxious, at the same time, however, that the man menaced with ministerial vengeance should conduct himself with propriety. Accordingly, instead of flattering his follies, he had loudly protested against his luxurious mode of life, and expressed both his own and the public dissatisfaction at the laced liveries and French domestics of a person supported by the

bounty of others. When a verdict of four thousand pounds had been obtained against lord Halifax, for his misconduct relative to general warrants, he represented the propriety of appropriating that sum towards the payment of his own debts: this proposition, however, was rejected: and no motives of policy, honesty, or shame, could induce him to debar himself of a single luxury, or advance a single shilling to his creditors.

In addition to these original causes of estrangement, there existed others of a peculiar nature. Mr. Wilkes always hated, or rather despised, the Americans; and, even during his confinement in the King's Bench, laughed at and ridiculed their pretensions to an independent legislative right of internal taxation. But no sooner did he receive a flattering letter from the Bostonians, accompanied by a valuable present, than the representative for Middlesex changed his mind, and transmitted a flaming reply, in which he maintained, "that the colonies were the *propugnacula imperii*," * and himself a "friend to universal liberty!" This glaring versatility, as usual, produced repeated, but ineffectual remonstrances on the part of his coadjutor, but without any profitable effect.† On the contrary, these remonstrances were combated with the keen and ready weapons of wit, irony, and sarcasm, until a breach at length became inevitable; and the dispute relative to Bingley only contributed to hasten those hostilities, which could not have been much longer protracted.

This memorable contest took place in 1770, in consequence of an account that appeared in one of the newspapers, of a meeting of the electors of Westminster, relative to an impeachment of lord North. The writer appearing to reflect on Mr. Wilkes, who had taken the chair on this occasion, that gentleman replied with some asperity, under his own signature, in a

* Bulwark of the empire.

† The above hints sufficiently show, that Mr. Horne, like Junius, did not favor the American opposition to the Stamp Act, the project of their favorite, George Grenville.

letter dated "Westminster, Nov. 15," beginning with the following quotation from Churchill:—

> "Ah me! what mighty perils wait
> The man who meddles with a state,
> Whether to strengthen or oppose,
> False are his friends, and firm his foes!"

He was, at the same time, seconded by two anonymous writers, who attacked Mr. Horne as the author.

To which Mr. Horne replied in the Public Advertiser:—

LETTER I.

To Mr. Wilkes.

Wednesday, Jan. 14, 1771.*

"Sir,—An agent of yours declared some time ago, that it would be useful to you and your affairs to come to an open rupture with me.—From this opinion has flowed all the abuse which has lately been bestowed upon me in the public papers.

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* Mr. Horne upon this occasion addressed thirteen letters to Mr. Wilkes, and it is worthy of remark that none of them are dated except the first and last, which latter has, at its conclusion, the date of the month only. The same defect is observable in Mr. Horne's correspondence with Mr. Onslow. This circumstance drew my attention to the following remark of a correspondent of Mr. Barker, (see "Claims," p. 189,) who, in speaking of a letter from Junius to Garrick differing from that given by Woodfall, says, "The imperfection of the date (Monday) so characteristic of Junius, and the correctness of the intelligence about Mr. Ramus," &c. Not knowing upon what authority this assertion of peculiarity was made, I examined the private letters of Junius to Wilkes, and perceived that their dates were generally taken from the memorandums of their receipt by the latter. Those to Woodfall, for the most part, appear to be guessed at from their relation to the public letters. No. 19 is dated *beginning* of Feb. 1770.

I moreover ascertained, by inspecting a copy of Junius in the possession of Dr. Samuel L. Mitchill, printed for John Wheble, at London, in two volumes, that the first, published in 1770, does not contain a single date. This absurdity is avoided in the second volume, printed in 1771, no doubt, by assuming the dates of the newspapers in which the letters were first published.

This very singular peculiarity observable in Junius and Horne, is certainly not unworthy of notice, and is submitted to the consideration of the reader.

I believe you have mistaken a strong inclination for policy, and have yielded to a natural bias, in opposition to honesty and your interest. For near three weeks past, I have been pretty closely confined to my chamber by indisposition, and, except the Public Advertiser, have only seen such papers as my friends have brought to me, whose kindness made them feel, more sensibly than myself, the injuries you have offered me."*

I have hitherto seen very little worthy of an answer, except the particular charges in the Gazetteer of last Tuesday. I think it due to the public, to my friends, and myself, to give to each as particular an answer. Sir, as I have never, either in public or private life, copied your example—I shall not do it in this my justification. Instead of a defence, your method has always been to recriminate. On the contrary, I shall, in this letter, confine myself to the charges brought against me. In a future letter, I will explain the nature and causes of the differences between us: they ought to be made public, because the objects are not private."

"The charges, I think, are,—First, That 'I subscribed to the "Society of the Bill of Rights," but never paid one shilling.' "†

"First, *I never did subscribe any thing to the 'Society of the Bill of Rights.'*‡ It is true that, in the *accounts* of that society, there will be found *five guineas of my money*; but these five

* In consideration of the sympathy presumed to exist between Horne and Junius, on reading the above, I was confident Junius could not be in good health at the time; and, on examination, I found that no letter had appeared from Junius from Nov. 14, 1770, till Jan. 30, 1771; and that among his letters under other signatures only three short notes had been published within the period of Horne's illness; the whole contained in three pages and a half.

† The other charges, being contained in the replies, are omitted.

‡ Horne's declining to subscribe to this society appears to have arisen from his disgust at the manner in which its funds were squandered to foster the profligacy of Wilkes. And it seems that Junius also had neglected any subscription, no doubt, for the same reason; for Horne expressly says, in a letter to Junius—and he must be a competent witness—that "Junius, any more than lord Chatham, never contributed one farthing to these enormous expenses." How Horne knew this fact, except he were Junius, I submit to the friends of Mr. Francis to decide.

guineas were paid by me at the moment of subscribing them, at the last subscription made at the King's Arms Tavern, in Cornhill, some time before the establishment of the society at the London Tavern. Nor do I recollect, *at any time*, to have subscribed any money without instantly paying down the small but numerous sums, I have contributed. These poor *five guineas were received*, and the *account of them brought into the society* by Mr. B———.

The *second* charge is, 'The amazing sums received by me for Mr. Glynn's election; ten guineas each from most of his friends.' I must premise, that I have always carefully avoided three things; I mean the being placed upon any public occasion in any situation of honour, trust, or profit, from which my name, and my station, and my inclination, equally dissuaded me. I have been regularly and indefatigably the drudge of almost every popular election, prosecution, and public business,—but never the object of any one. For three years past my *time* has been *entirely*, and my income almost wholly, applied to public measures.' But, though with great caution, and sometimes obstinacy, I have taken care never to be the chairman of any company, nor the ostensible manager or conductor of any matter; yet I have not been able to avoid being, on three occasions, the receiver of money. One of them was the election of Mr Glynn."

[Mr. Horne then gives an account of the receipts and expenditures in this case.]

The *third* charge is, 'That I have received subscriptions for the widow Bigby's appeal.' The widow Bigby's appeal was not brought by my direction; I do not mean that I disapprove it; I commend the measure; and if I had been applied to, should have advised it. I think the pardon granted to the murderers of Bigby was a horrid one. I think the same of the

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' Including 1768–69 and 70. Junius began his political career April 28, 1767, but perhaps his time was not "entirely applied to public measures" during the remainder of that year.

pardon granted to M'Quirk, and I do not believe either of them lawful. Mr. Stamford, the attorney who was employed by the widow, applied to a gentleman of character and fortune in the city for assistance: that gentleman brought Mr. Stamford to me, who told me what he had done, and what he intended to do; but he declared himself unable to bear the expense and go on with the appeal, unless he was assisted immediately with money. I undertook the matter, made myself answerable to him, and assisted him with money: and when I saw my friends I applied to them for their help, because I was unequal to the burden alone. I did not indeed foresee that any member of the house of commons would move for leave to bring in a bill to take away the right of appeal from the people in cases of murder; but I did foresee that lord Mansfield would make such a motion and such a bill unnecessary: and that he would by studied delays and difficulties, most effectually take away the remedy of appeal, by showing us that the most eminent counsel at the bar are not able to proceed in such a course as to bring it to a trial: and I supposed that he would, as he has done, so protract the matter by shifting his difficulties and his doubts, that either the proceedings on the appeal should be dropped, from the enormity of the expense, or the obstinate virtue of the poor appellant have time to be cooled and corrupted. I expected only to show what has been shown, that lord Mansfield, who is so dexterous at removing difficulties and shortening the way to a conviction for libel, according to the *modern* method of prosecution, is as dexterous in finding out or creating obstacles to a trial in the *ancient* mode of appeal for murder, which was formerly the subject's *only* remedy.* And for this purpose I was willing, and did declare my willingness, to bear, if it was necessary, the whole expense of the prosecution. The few

* Something more too has been shown; *i. e.* that the suggestions on which the pardon for the Kennedies was procured are false; and that those who procured it still know them to be guilty, or they would not so obstinately and corruptly have opposed a fresh trial on the appeal, which was the only method to justify the pardon in an authentic manner, by producing the [illegible] circumstances which manifested their innocence.

friends to whom I spoke on this occasion were of the same sentiments; and they contributed towards the appeal.

I have received 110*l.* 16*s.* and I have paid to the attorney 150*l.*; and I have never been less in advance than I am at present, which is 39*l.* 4*s.*

The *fourth* charge is, 'That I have received subscriptions for Mr. Gillam's trial.' A copy of the indictment was *illegally* granted to Mr. Gillam, in order to intimidate and disgrace another gentleman and myself. When the request was made, the judges were at first divided: Mr. justice Aston and Mr. Recorder saw no objection to it, and they at last over-persuaded the lord chief baron Parker: Mr. justice Gould refused it to the last. Notwithstanding this copy of the indictment, I have never hesitated to declare, that I did promote and assist that prosecution to the utmost of my power; but I did not at any time receive a farthing from any person on the account of Mr. Gillam's trial, or any thing relative to it, and I do assert that there was no subscription for it. If you, sir, can discover a single person who paid any subscription to me, or to any other on that account, it is your business to name him; otherwise we shall know how to name you.

The *fifth* charge is, 'That I have received subscriptions for the affair of the weavers in Spital Fields.' I never did receive any subscription for the affair of the weavers in Spital Fields: there never was any subscription on that account, or any other relative to the weavers in Spital Fields. I took no small pains with other gentlemen, to save the lives of some innocent men: but though one was petitioned for by the lord mayor and all the aldermen who sat on the bench at his trial, with the strongest circumstances in his favor, and though another was unanimously and strongly recommended to mercy by the jury, they were both hanged.—Their crime was not murder.—I believe we had better success in our endeavors to stop the further merciless persecution of that unhappy body of men; but what we did was done without collecting money or subscription: and I do not believe that any money was paid, except twenty pounds, which I gave out of my own pocket, towards procuring counsel for one *Baker*, a journeyman weaver, whom lord Mansfield had

refused to admit to bail till term time, and till after hearing counsel; although the same lord Mansfield confessed that he was committed on a charge for an offence bailable at the very first view, and which did not admit even the shadow of a doubt. If any person did subscribe on this account, to me or to any other, it is your business to name him.

But, sir, there is one subscription more that I have received, and with which you have not charged me: I mean a subscription of 94*l.* 17*s.* 9*d.* raised for you in my neighborhood, which I have brought into the society very lately, at the last meeting but one at the London Tavern.

However before this subscription, I advanced in the payment of demands upon you, 38*l.* 0*s.* 8*d.*, which I am still to receive, and of the subscription itself, seven guineas still remain unpaid to me.

Your *last* charge is, that I have received money for different publications, and you call upon me to lay before the public 'an account of the profits on my vamped up sermon, Mr. Foote's apology, Mr. Missing's letter,' &c.

If you thought yourself justified in refusing to acknowledge to the injured person an anonymous writing,' how can you expect that I should give you an answer about pamphlets that bear other men's names? It is true, I have always avowed whatever I have written anonymously, whenever any person has complained that he was injured; as in the cases of Sir John Gibbons, Sir W. B. Proctor, Mr. Onslow, &c.;† it is my general rule when I am treated fairly; but the rule does not extend to you: for in those pamphlets, even if I had written

* A note is inserted here, giving extracts from an anonymous pamphlet written by Mr. Wilkes, entitled "Annals of the mayoralty of Mr. Trecothick, in which he says, "on the true *levelling* principle of his countrymen, the Bostonians, he (Mr. Trecothick) likewise declared the late Mr. Beckford, that first of men, to whom the grateful citizens have decreed a statue for a long life of faithful services, only *a good sort of man*." &c. This was published in June 1770; and shows that Mr. Wilkes was not at that time a supporter of the Americans.—*Am. Edit.*

† Mr. Horne here makes a pompous parade about giving up his name in the cases alluded to, which was by no means called for. Mr. Wilkes's demand as he says, was impertinent, and nothing else was required but to tell him so; whic

extend to you; for in those pamphlets, even if I had written them, there is no reflection upon you: when you attribute to me the pamphlets that bear the names of other men, and call for an answer, you are impertinent to me and injurious to them."

The above contains an answer to all the charges made against Mr. Horne, amidst the asperity of party hostility; and as it was followed soon after by letters from Mr. sergeant Glynn, Mr. W. Tooke, Messrs. Davis, and Mr. alderman Oliver, testifying the disinterestedness of his conduct, must be allowed to constitute an able, as well as ample refutation of these calumnies. Notwithstanding this, and although all the independent and opulent men belonging to the 'Society of the Bill of Rights,' had taken the side of Mr. Horne in this dispute; yet the current of popular opinion now set in strongly against him. At the very time he was sacrificing all his prospects in life to advance the cause he had adopted, he was represented as a deserter from the side of liberty; and more than once, was actually burnt in effigy in the metropolis.

Notwithstanding this, after a short pause, he renewed the controversy, and proceeded in the month of May, 1771, to expose the character and conduct of Mr. Wilkes, as may be

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as all Mr. Horne would have done, had he not had other motives than to satisfy Wilkes, or the public upon this subject.—Junius's letters haunted him. He was fearful of being suspected to be the author, and therefore took every opportunity to impress upon the public mind that, if he were, he would declare it. It so happens, however, that Mr. Horne, in a subsequent letter to Mr. Wilkes, gives a different statement to the above, in respect to one of the cases mentioned, or at least in reference to circumstances relating to it, as follows:

"On Tuesday morning, March 22, 1768, I paid you the first visit in London. On Wednesday I inserted two advertisements levelled at the old members for Middlesex: for one of which the *imprudent* hastiness of Sir J. Gibbons made that gentleman afterwards *publish* my name."

The declaration, therefore, of Mr. Horne that, "It is true, I have always avowed whatever I have written anonymously, whenever any person has complained that he was injured," is disproved by himself. Did he not intend to injure those *old members* in the estimation of the public? And did he intend, in case they complained of the injury, to surrender his name? Certainly not; for that might have defeated his purpose. He undoubtedly, like other political writers, withheld or surrendered his name as best suited his views; and his pretending to a contrary course, was one of the artifices by which he screened himself from suspicion in regard to the letters of Junius.—*Am. Edit.*

seen from their correspondence, which would nearly fill a volume. Some of this series of letters are therefore necessarily abridged; without omitting, however, a single passage of any importance; for though they were eagerly read by the nation at that period, yet after the lapse of more than forty years, they will of course have lost much of their zest as well as importance. Upon the whole, however, they must be allowed to contain, not only many interesting passages, but also to exhibit a variety of curious information relative to the history of that period.

The same reasons that induced Mr. Stephens to abridge these letters, in 1813, operate more powerfully at this time, particularly in America. A farther and very considerable curtailment therefore will be made in this edition. In fact, my limits require me, not only to abridge the letters of Horne, but to omit some entirely, and to reject the replies of Wilkes, excepting a part of his last letter. The whole subject may be perfectly understood by the letters of the former, which carry an internal evidence of their veracity; and the shuffling evasions of his antagonist serve but to confuse and disgust the reader. This will fully appear by the sample that will be given.

The politician will find much interest in these letters of Horne, and, if he be a zealous personal party man, much instruction.

LETTER II.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

Sir,—You have said, 'The public have a right to truth, and every imposition on mankind ought to be detected and exposed.' I am not entirely of that opinion: I think there are certain seasons when some particular truths ought to be withheld; and my lips should have been for ever closed on the subject of your real character and conduct, if you could by any motives have been persuaded, or by any art or contrivance have been compelled, to continue a voluntary or involuntary instrument of good to your country. I have long been with others, struggling to make it your interest to be honest, and founded all my hopes not on your principle but common sense. At length I despair

of any good from you, and apprehend much mischief: I think it therefore my duty to be no longer silent; and I come to an explanation without any apprehension of disgrace; because I know, that though *Wilkes and liberty* may for a while bear down every thing before them in the street, yet, as far as they are not connected by public principles, they will surely be separated in the closet.* But whatever may be the opinions of any persons concerning my conduct, I shall not alter it: their uninformed opinions affect me little: I know my own situation; I must ever remain a poor and a private man, and can never be a candidate for the favor or confidence of the public. The voice of the people is not the voice of God to me, though (in the fair meaning of the word *people*) I have never thought it wrong: but it is the voice within me that shall ever be the guide of my actions.†

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* Junius in a private letter to Wilkes, dated Sept. 23, 1771, says, "*Depend upon it*, the perpetual union of *Wilkes* and *mob* does you no service. Not but that I love and esteem the mob. It is your interest to keep up dignity and gravity besides. I would not make myself cheap by walking the streets so much as you do. *Verbum sat.*"—*Am. Ed.*

† Junius in a private letter to Wilkes, dated Sept. 7, 1771, says, "I do not deny that I expect my opinions upon these points should have some degree of weight with you. I have *served* Mr. Wilkes and am still capable of serving him. I have faithfully served the public, without the possibility of a *personal* advantage." And in his letter to the same, dated the 18th of the same month, he says, "Besides every *personal* consideration, *if I were known*, I could no longer be an *useful servant* to the public."

In a letter of Junius addressed to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, dated April 22, 1771, we notice the following remark:

"But in truth, sir, I have left no room for an accommodation with the piety of St. James's. My offences are not to be redeemed by recantation or repentance. On one side, our warmest patriots would disclaim me as a burthen to their *honest* ambition. On the other, the vilest prostitution, if Junius could descend to it, would lose its natural merit and influence in the cabinet, and treachery be no longer a recommendation to the royal favor."

In his letter addressed to the printer, dated August 13, 1771, he says, "As for myself, it is no longer a question *whether I shall mix with the throng, and take a single share in the danger.* Whenever *Junius appears*, he must encounter a host of enemies."

Junius here alludes to himself personally as being in disrepute both with the administration and opposition parties; and not as Junius, for in that character he was a great favorite with the popular party.

It is not my intention here to open any account with you on the score of private character; in that respect, the public have kindly passed an act of insolvency in your favor: you have delivered up your all, and no man can fairly now make any demand. I blame your public conduct, and never had a difference with you on any other subject; and though it has suited your selfish politics to insinuate and pretend some private pique between us, yet you have not ventured, even anonymously, to suggest any particular cause of my dissatisfaction.

That I may be well understood, it is necessary to give a short history of the commencement, progress, and conclusion of the intercourse between us; and this I will begin to do in my next; not for my own justification, for I could be well contented to leave each man to his opinion concerning me: but that the people at large, to whose safety and happiness it is important, may be better able to form their judgment how far they ought, and how far they ought not, to support you; and that they may perceive your general professions and protestations to be like those of last Wednesday's speech, equally calculated to mislead and impose, and to which every particular act, as well of *your* opposition as of *his* government, is a flat contradiction.

JOHN HORNE."

LETTER III.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

"Sir, * * * * * In the year 1765 I repaired to Italy. Passing through Paris, I delivered some letters to you; amongst others, one of those letters from Mr. Onslow, which you have since published. Though this was the first time we ever saw each other, you exacted from me with very earnest entreaty, a

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Was there a single individual in England in the situation here described excepting John Horne? Junius was in high estimation, and as Mr. Horne had lost his personal influence, was he not under this mask endeavoring to provide for his friends, and induce the popular party to adopt such measures as he thought would redound to the interest of his country?—*Am. Ed.*

promise of correspondence. I thought you at that time sincerely public-spirited, and a man of honor; I mean that sort of honor, which, though it does not restrain from bad, prevents men from being guilty of mean actions. I wrote to you from Montpelier; and having told you my profession, I disclaimed, in a joking manner, those vices, which from the dependent situation of its professors, are too frequently attendant on it—I mean hypocrisy, servility, and an abject attention to private interest. Receiving no answer, I did not repeat my folly: and upon a second visit to you at Paris, in my return from Italy to England, in the year 1767, I saw reasons sufficient never more to trust you with a single line; for I found that all the private letters of your friends were regularly pasted in a book, and read over indiscriminately, not only to your friends and acquaintance, but to every visitor.

In this second visit at Paris you reproached me for not keeping my promise of correspondence, and swore you had not received my letter. I was very well contented, though I did not believe your excuse, and hugged myself in the reflection, that I had furnished you with only one opportunity of treachery. This letter you copied, and showed it about to numbers of people, with a menace of publication, if I dared to interrupt you. And yet you cannot pretend to justify yourself by saying, that it contains any promises which have not been abundantly fulfilled. You will not say that I courted you in your prosperity, and forsook you in adversity: you will not say that I have been ungrateful, or that I ever received any favors at your hands. I found you in the most hopeless state: an outlaw; plunged in the deepest distress; overwhelmed with debt and disgrace; forsaken by all your friends, and shunned by every thing that called itself a gentleman, at a time when very honest men, who could distinguish between you and your cause, and who feared no danger, yet feared the ridicule attending a probable defeat. Happily, we succeeded, and I leave you by repeated elections, the legal representative of Middlesex, an alderman of London, and about thirty thousand pounds richer than when I first knew you; myself by many degrees poorer

than I was before; and I pretend to have been a little instrumental in all these changes of your situation.

I make no other reflection on your behavior respecting my letter, than barely to say, that those who shall attempt to palliate or justify it, will want a justification themselves. Publish it, however, when you will. I am confident, as indeed I have likewise been assured by many to whom you have shown it, that there is nothing in the letter of which I need to be ashamed, unless there are any compliments to you; of every thing of that kind your subsequent conduct has indeed made me most heartily ashamed.

* * * * * "From the time I left you at Paris, in 1767, I held no communication with you of any kind whatever; nor did I upon your arrival in England, in 1768, even pay you a visit, till it was very evident you had lost your election in the city. Then indeed I went to you, because I knew I could be useful to you in Middlesex; and I did then, and do still think, that there was no method by which I could do greater service to the public than by espousing your cause; which the weakness and wickedness of our court had made to a certain degree, the cause of every Englishman.

Besides some credible information which I had received since I first saw you concerning your character, and the danger which my second visit had shown me there was in your correspondence, a particular transaction had made me forbear any communication with you, though my sentiments of your cause remained unaltered. JOHN HORNE."

LETTER IV.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

"Sir,—During the city election many worthy merchants having generously come forward to your assistance, and some of them being men of the most rigid morality, you thought it proper to adopt the language of a penitent: to the one you talked of 'Saul transformed into St. Paul;' to another you were more poetical, and told him, that hitherto your life must be considered as only bearing the *blossoms*, and that the public

might now expect from you the *fruits:* and you talked of the *follies* of your *youth*, as if you had not been at that time between *forty and fifty*, and as if *folly* was all that could be alleged against you. I believe you did not impose upon many; the greater part despised the hypocrite, who before abhorred the rogue: but, however some might be deceived, your conduct did not suffer me even for a few days, to suppose you a changeling.

On *Tuesday* morning, March 22, 1768, I paid you the first visit in London. On *Wednesday* I inserted two advertisements levelled at the old members for Middlesex: for one of which the imprudent hastiness of Sir J. Gibbons made that gentleman afterwards publish my name. On *Thursday*, you set out with me to canvass the western part of the county. Returning in the evening to Brentford, I found there Mr. T——n, whose name I did not then know: he had been appointed by your committee of the city to secure some houses at Brentford for the day of the election: he could get none, because he was totally unknown: he applied to me, and appointed me to meet him on Saturday evening, at the King's Arms, where the committee would settle every thing with me relative to houses.

On *Friday*, I procured two inns for the purpose; and engaged myself to them to pay the expenses which should be incurred. And this was necessary, because if you had lost your election, no people could easily foresee you would again have fled the country, and they would have lost their money.

On *Saturday*, in the evening, I waited on the committee: Mr. T——n was absent: I told them my business; and desired only that the risk of the uncertain expenses at Brentford, on the day of election, might be understood to be equal between us, because I was not sufficient to bear the whole, and such a loss might undo me. They were perfect strangers to me; the committee was distracted with variety of business; all was confusion; and they treated me very cavalierly, as they would have done a sharper who was come to impose upon them by false pretences: the chairman, Mr. J. J——, a gentleman of character and a man of business, and not having (as he has since informed me) been acquainted with the circumstances, and knowing that

Mr. T——n. had been appointed to look after the houses, very properly, though abruptly, bade me quit the room; saying, 'Since houses are procured, that is sufficient for us, and we have nothing to do with you or your engagements.' I quitted the room; first telling them, that they were mistaken in supposing they had the houses safe, and therefore might leave me to bear the burthen: that I was not quite so foolish as they seemed to imagine: if they would not make it a joint risk, I was still able to save myself: for that I very well knew Sir William Beauchamp Proctor and Mr. Cooke, would be very glad to take the houses off my hands, and to acknowledge the obligation.

You had hitherto sat silent: but being alarmed at my last words, which I threw out to alarm them, and to make them join with me in the risk, you followed me, and led me together with Mr. ———, into another room: you caught me by the hands, and supplicated me most earnestly not to be offended at such 'creatures' as your committee: you swore I should run no hazard; that you had more than money enough at your banker's, and would that moment give me a draft for *fifteen hundred pounds.*

I replied, 'Sir, I was not at all offended before, but I am now: I see you think me a dupe; because it is Saturday evening, and your election comes on Monday morning, you offer me a draft on your banker for *fifteen hundred pounds*, when I know you have not *fifteen pence* in the world. It is you that treat me ill, not they. I am not duped, sir; and I desire I may at least have the honor of doing what I do with my eyes open. Go back and look after them; give yourself no concern about me: I shall act in the same manner as if they had engaged with me. The die is cast: if I had not thought that all was at stake on the success of your election, I should not have come forward at all; and having once begun it, nothing shall stop me.'

The success of the election is known: the gentlemen afterwards excused themselves to me for a behavior for which their good intentions entirely justified them: and the committee paid the expenses. JOHN HORNE."

LETTER V.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

"Sir,—I have been asked by some very well meaning men, 1. Whether I did not in my first letter, say, that I would open no account with you on the score of *private* character? 2. And yet whether I have hitherto charged you with any thing but bad actions of a private nature? 3. Whether your *private* character is worse now than it was when I went such lengths in your support? 4. Whether I did not at that time know your private character? 5. How then could I be a friend to such a man? 6. If I was your friend only for the sake of the public cause, whether the same reason does not remain? 7. Whether your cause is not still the same? And, 8. Why I will suffer any private pique or quarrel between us to come before the public and injure that cause?

To which I answer,

1. 2. I have hitherto confined myself, according to the plan laid down in my first letter, to show, from facts, what must have been the motives of my conduct and the nature of the intercourse between us. For that purpose it was necessary for me to mention such parts of your ill behavior as fell within *my own knowledge* and *related to myself* at the time of its *commencement;* that it might from thence plainly appear to every one, that I could have no *private* attachment to Mr. Wilkes, though I was determined to the utmost of my poor abilities, to assist *him and his cause as far as it was a public cause,** and might tend to public benefit.† Had it been my intention to attack your private

* The declaration of the society of supporters of the Bill of Rights, when it was first formed.

† Junius in Miscellaneous Letters, No. 52, addressed to the printer, Nov. 21, 1768, observes,

"Sir,—It will soon be decided by the highest authority whether the justice of our laws, and the liberty of our constitution, have been essentially violated in the person of Mr. Wilkes. As a *public man* his fate will be determined, nor is it safe or necessary at present to enter into the merits of his cause. We are interested in this question *no further than as he is a part of a well regulated society.* If a member of it be injured, the laws and constitution will defend him."—*Am. Edit.*

character, (which I understand to be on all sides given up,) I should have pursued a very different method: the transactions I have mentioned are mere peccadillos compared to the black catalogue which would then have appeared.

3. Your private character is not worse now than it was when I went such lengths in your support: except that by continuing your former bad practices in every respect, notwithstanding every reason public and private, to restrain you, all hopes of your amendment are vanished: for the ingenuity of man cannot find out an additional motive of restraint.

4. 5. I knew enough of your private character at the time of the Middlesex election not to enter into any private connexion with you; and to have no motives but what were public for the sacrifices I made and the hazards I ran. But I did not know your private character as I have known it since. When I first went abroad, early in the year 1763, I knew no more of you than what the papers told me, that you in conjunction with Churchill and Lloyd, were one of the authors of the North Briton. What I afterwards heard against you on my return, in 1764, I imputed, for the greater part, to the rage of party and the malice of your enemies: I supposed you liberal in speculation, and not a very rigid moralist in action: I have not to this moment read the Essay on Woman; and whatever it may contain, I should have felt more indignation against those who bribed the printer to betray you, than against you who were betrayed; because it was a mean villany, almost equal to the treacherous publication of a *private, friendly, confidential* letter: but a villany of which you can now complain no more.

Wilkes, with the education of a gentleman, has exceeded in meanness and want of sentiment his servant *Curry*.* In the year 1767, I first *knew* some part of your private character, and

* As the ministers were determined to ruin Mr. Wilkes, and were not very scrupulous as to the means, a journeyman printer, of the name of Curry, was seduced, by promises, to purloin a proof-sheet of "An Essay on Woman," written by him, containing some manuscript corrections in the hand writing of the author. Only twelve copies of this work were printed, at a private press, but never published.

no sooner knew than avoided you. Since that time, in the progress of my excessive industry to extricate you from your difficulties, I have to my astonishment, found to be true, not only all that has been alleged against you, but much more. However, were it possible to add to the measure of your private turpitude, it would not prevent me from acting over again in the same manner I have done; and was there an election for Middlesex to-morrow, (the right of the electors being left unvindicated, or any other point of public concern, the benefit which *you* might receive from my labor or my sufferings should not make me in the least relax the one or decline the other.

6. 7. I was your friend only for the sake of the public cause: that reason does in certain matters remain; as far as it remains, so far I am still your friend; and therefore I said in my first letter, 'the public should know how far they *ought*, and how far they *ought not*, to support you.'

To bring to punishment the great delinquents who have corrupted the parliament and the seats of justice; who have encouraged, pardoned, and rewarded murder: to heal the breaches made in the constitution, and by salutary provisions, to prevent them for the future: to replace, once more, not the *administration* and *execution*, for which they are very unfit, but the *checks* of government *really* in the hands of the governed.

For these purposes, if it were possible to suppose that the great enemy of mankind could be rendered instrumental to their happiness, so far the devil himself should be supported by the people. For a human instrument they should go further; he should not only be supported, but thanked and rewarded, for the good which perhaps he did not intend, as an encouragement to others to follow his example. But if the foul fiend having gained their support, should endeavor to delude the weaker part, and entice them to an idolatrous worship of himself, by persuading them that what he suggested was their voice, and *their voice* the *voice of God*: if he should attempt to obstruct every thing that leads to their security and happiness, and to promote every wickedness that tends only to his own emolument: if when—*the cause—the cause*—reverberates on their ears, he should divert them from the original sound, and direct

them towards the opposite unfaithful echo: if confusion should be all his aim, and mischief his sole enjoyment, would not he act the part of a faithful monitor to the people, who should save them from their snares, by reminding them of the true object of their *constitutional* worship, expressed in these words of *holy writ*, (for to me it is so,) *Rex, lex loquens; lex, rex mutus.** This is—*the cause—the cause.*—To make this union indissoluble is the only cause I acknowledge. As far as the support of Mr. Wilkes tends to this point, I am as warm as the warmest; but all the lines of your projects are drawn towards a different centre—yourself; and if with a good intention, I have been diligent to gain you powers, which may be perverted to mischief, I am bound to be doubly diligent to prevent their being so employed.

8. The diligence I have used for two years past, and the success I have had in defeating all your shameful schemes, is the true cause of the dissention between us. I have never had any private pique or quarrel with you. It was your policy, in paragraphs and anonymous letters, to pretend it; but you cannot mention any private cause of pique or quarrel.

To prevent the mischief of a division to a popular opposition, those who saw both your bad intentions and your actions, were silent; and, whilst they defeated all your projects, they were cautious to conceal your defects. They studied so much the more to satisfy your voracious prodigality, and thought, as I should have done if a minister, that, if feeding it would keep you from mischief, a few thousands would be well employed by the public for that purpose. But I can never, merely for the sake of *strengthening* opposition, join in those actions which would prevent all the good effects to be hoped for from opposition, and for the sake of which alone any opposition to government can be justifiable.

Would to God, the time were come, which I am afraid is very distant, beyond the period of my life, when an honest man could not be in opposition! I declare I should rejoice to find the patronage of a minister in the smallest degree my honor and interest. I never have pretended to any more than to

* The king enforcing the law: the law subjecting the king.—*Am. Ed.*

prefer the former to the latter. But it is not upon me alone that you have poured forth your abuse, but upon every man of honor, who has deserved well of the public; and if you were permitted to proceed, without interruption, there would shortly not be found one honest man who would not shudder to deserve well of the people.

The true reason of our dissention being made public, is, that you could not get on a step without it; and you trust that the popularity of your name, and your diligence in paragraphing the papers, will outweigh with the people the most essential services of others; and that you shall get rid of all control, by taking away from those who mean well the confidence of the people. If you can once get them affronted by the public, whom they have faithfully served, you flatter yourself that disgust will make them retire from a scene where such a man as you are, covered with infamy like yours, has the disposal of honor and disgrace, and the characters of honest men at his mercy.

I mean to prove what I have said by facts: and though it does not come in the regular order of time, which I meant to observe, nor with that strength, with which a number of preceding transactions made it affect my mind, I will now mention one which, with two or three others, made you despair of using me in your plans, and made you hasten the rupture.

Some time in last July, when I was on a visit to Mr. alderman Oliver, at Putney, you came there and persuaded me to go with you to your house at Fulham, where I had never before been, that we might the next morning go together by water to London. In the boat, you began with me a conversation about the city, as exactly as I can recollect, to the following effect:

W. 'I think I ought to consider something about providing for my friends, and being prepared with candidates for the city offices. Give me your opinion: who do you think should be town-clerk?'

H. 'Why, is sir James Hodges dead?'

W. 'No; but he is not very young, nor in very good health: and one ought to be prepared against accidents. There should always be a candidate fixed upon ready.'

H. 'Since you have asked my opinion about it, I will give

it you very freely: I think directly the contrary. Consider your situation: your influence is not personal, but depends entirely upon the propriety of your measures. Though you may consider of the thing in your mind, you should never fix upon a candidate till the very time of election, nor talk about it to any one. The man that might be most proper this year may be very improper the next. It is your business, when the time comes, to consider who is the most fit for the office, and has the best claim to the favor of the citizens; and if those circumstances are nearly equal in different candidates, then to adopt him who is most likely to succeed: by which means the party you espouse will generally be victorious: and you will have the credit of having carried many a candidate by your interest, when indeed he will be carried by the merits of his own pretensions: and should you at any time miscarry, your defeat will do you no harm: for every one will acknowledge that your man ought to have succeeded: and, by seeing you always espouse the most worthy, the public will in time have a strong inducement to support your candidates, and will reasonably conclude that he is probably the most worthy whom you espouse: whereas, by following a different course, though you may succeed once or twice, your very successes will disgrace and insure your future defeat.'

W. 'All this may do very well in theory, but Reynolds has done so much, and is every day doing so much for me, that I think he ought to be fixed upon as town-clerk.'

H. 'In my opinion you have fixed upon the last man in the city that should be thought of for that office: and I may speak it the more freely, because Reynolds has experienced that I do not want an inclination to serve him. When he sent Mr. Tr——n to ask me to desire Mr. Sawbridge to appoint him his under-sheriff, he knows that there was not a minute between Tr——n's application to me and Mr. Sawbridge's granting my request:* he knows, too, the steps I have since taken to serve

* The friendship subsisting between Mr. Horne and Mr. Sawbridge will be a subject of future remark.

him in that line. There is nothing improper in his being under-sheriff, because that is a *private* favor granted by the *sheriff*, who serves the office at a very great expense. But the lucrative city offices are very different things: they ought always to be disposed of to the old citizens of long standing, not those who make themselves free for the purpose; to men of respectable characters, who can plead services to the city; or at least to those who, with equal merit, have not perhaps been so successful as their neighbors, and are not so easy in their fortunes as their fellow-citizens think they deserve. Reynolds has not the least claim: he is a freeman only of yesterday; and you will certainly forfeit the esteem and support of the citizens, and narrow yourself to a very small circle indeed, if they see you endeavoring to confine all the emoluments of the city to your attorneys, agents, and particular adherents, to the exclusion of those who have long borne the burden of the city, and whose right those offices are. You ought, on the contrary, on these occasions, to assist worth and merit wherever you find it, whether amongst your own party or out of it, or even amongst your adversaries; and, by so doing, your enemies will be less jealous of your power and less bitter, and the number of your friends will increase as the approbation of your conduct increases.'

Mr. Wilkes seemed much chagrined, and did not at all relish my arguments, but turned the conversation to other subjects. About ten days afterwards, Mr. Reynolds came to me, and told me he desired my advice and assistance: that Mr. Wilkes had been talking to him about being town-clerk.—I repeated to Mr. Reynolds the arguments I had used to Mr. Wilkes, with many others particularly affecting Mr. Reynolds; and Mr. Reynolds told me he was convinced by what I had said, and should think no more of it.

On the *first* of *August*, I went to Guilford, on account of the trial on my cause with Mr. Onslow. After the trial, about twenty of us dined together; and after dinner Mr. Heaton Wilkes took me out into another room, and solicited my influence in his behalf for the chamberlainship. Relative to this

subject, I fully expressed my dissatisfaction by means of a written communication.

Upon this business I had afterwards some very unpleasant conversation with Mr. Heaton Wilkes, and not much better with Mr. John Wilkes, who denied that he had ever approved the measure; but insisted upon it, that his brother had as good a right to be a candidate as any other person. Mr. Heaton Wilkes has continued his canvass, which he began many months before he was a freeman, down to this time, and was made free of the city of London on the 27th of last September.

J. HORNE."

LETTER VII.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

"Mr. Cotes and Mr. Reynolds seem to *declare upon their honor* with as little scruple as Jews swear on the New Testament. Alas! the *policies* will enrich the one no more than the *town-clerkship* the other. And Mr. Wilkes, whose '*heart is* at present *too full to say one word except his feelings of gratitude*,' will some time hence say to them, as he does now to Mr. Wildman—'Deliver in your account on oath: I will *follow* you into Westminster Hall.'—Mr. Wildman, sir, will *find* you there."

"You are very discreet when you refuse to '*accept* any place in the city.' The disposal of *all* would be much more lucrative to you than the possession of *one*; and if, instead of a *share*, your candidates were all able, like Mr. Reynolds, to *advance* the price of the office, your gain would be less *precarious*.

Will you content yourself, as you have hitherto done, to deny all, and leave it on your own bare authority? I believe you will: for I know that you cannot defend yourself a moment, without being driven to an impudent, manifest contradiction of the most consistent circumstances; the best attested truths; the most notorious facts; and the clear testimony of some of the most respectable public men in the world; I mean Mr. Oliver, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Sawbridge, Mr. Glynn, sir Robert Bernard, Mr. Bellas, Mr. Lovell, &c. &c. These, with a great number of other gentlemen of considerable character in private stations,

have been witnesses to the whole of my conduct: to them I shall be forced frequently to appeal, and, with the most perfect confidence I trust my character to their *affirmations:* against the declarations, *upon honor*, of such men as Mr. Reynolds and Mr. Humphry Cotes. JOHN HORNE."

LETTER VIII.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

* * * * * * In your brother's address to the livery, I can find but two articles of recommendation on which to ground his pretensions:

1. His near relationship to John Wilkes, *esquire*, as he terms his brother; and

2. That the Chamberlainship will enable him to assist the said John Wilkes, *esquire*, more liberally.

This *near relation* to John Wilkes, *esquire*, (who is now desirous to assist him more liberally,) was pressed very earnestly by Mr. T. B——, a stranger to them both, to join with him in bailing a debt for the *esquire*, when he was arrested during the city election; but not having then a chamberlainship in view, he obstinately refused, and the very bailiff, who arrested his brother, paused, through indignation, with Mr. T. B——, in bail for this *near relation*.

If Mr. Reynolds's *honor* will, (as you say,) remain unspotted till the Jews are sworn (by direction of court I suppose you mean) on the New Testament,' his testimony must then be admitted by you to prove that your *near* relation, being himself out of the scrape, advised John Wilkes, *esquire*, to run away from his bail. *Par nobile fratrum!**

Upon the whole, I allow there could be no objection of *inconsistency in their views*, if the livery should choose to return you both as sheriffs together, or to the court of aldermen for the office of lord-mayor; but unfortunately for your scheme in

* This term is applied by Horne to the two Townshends. See p. 143 this volume.

question, the election for the *chamberlainship* is not used to bring forth *twins*. JOHN HORNE."

LETTER IX.

To Mr. Wilkes.

* * * * * "Men of reflection, integrity, and discernment, are disgusted at the grossness of your abuse, and perceive guilt to be the cause of your shuffling evasions: not that I believe you would be sorry at *their* removal from you, if it were not that you are sensible—'the *fleece* accompanies the *flock*.' The natural consequence of your behavior is, that you are at this moment reduced to a little faction of about *forty* very inconsiderable names: many of them honest, mistaken, or uninformed simpletons: some of them jovial fellows, who look no further than the laugh and merriment of the table, and some of them disappointed or interested knaves. To each of these, in his turn, you *confidentially* declare how much you despise the rest: and should every man to whom you have made such a declaration, quit your acquaintance, you would not have one fool left whom you could flatter with the abuse of another; and if your present adherents will only compare notes together, they will easily learn your opinion of them all.

But to proceed—Having now established Mr. Heaton Wilkes the declared, *advertising* candidate for the chamberlainship of the city of London; and secured to him your *public-spirited* vote, though you disapprove his attempt: I will, in my next, begin to show your conduct to the public society at the London Tavern. JOHN HORNE."

LETTER X.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

* * * * * "Never, surely, was a great public cause so overlaid with the wickedness and folly of an individual as the present! Every day brought fresh difficulties and disgrace on Mr. Wilkes; and yet he was the only person who, all the while, felt no distress, denied himself no expense, was neither sensible

or apprehensive of any disgrace. The just abhorrence of Mr. Wilkes, as a private man, kept many good men at a distance from the cause of the people, which was unhappily blended with his personal persecution: the friends of that cause were therefore anxious to cover, if possible, or to lessen the infamy, of which he was careless. The breach of trust committed by him towards the Foundling Hospital began to make a noise; being found, upon inquiry, to be too true, it demanded their earliest attention. Two gentlemen immediately advanced *three hundred pounds* to the hospital, and engaged themselves to pay the remainder. The whole sum due from Mr. Wilkes to the Foundling Hospital amounted to 990*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*

Whilst matters were in this situation, and every day growing worse, you were unjustly expelled from the house of commons; and that expulsion was the cause of the *society* at the London Tavern.

Many gentlemen, unconnected with each other, had long been wishing for some association to be set on foot for public purposes, and it had been much talked of as a measure capable of producing great benefit to the public: the present seemed a proper moment for it, and it was proposed by Mr. Townsend instantly to begin."

"In this situation the establishment of a society was proposed: the plan was formed and executed in great haste: Mr. Sawbridge and Mr. Townsend labored at one end of the town, whilst some persons were employed at the other, to give a general notice of the design, and to collect as many respectable persons as possible, whose sentiments and wishes were known to be public. On the 20th of February, 1769, only *three days* after the vote of incapacitation, the first meeting of the society was held at the London Tavern: a subscription was immediately made by the gentlemen present, which amounted to 3023*l.*—A *second* meeting was held *five days* afterwards, on the 25th of the same month, when they assumed the name of 'Supporters of the Bill of Rights.' A very worthy member of the house of commons proposed that name as most expressive of the *public* intentions of the society, which disdained the notion of being merely a club for Mr. Wilkes, of whom the greater

part had a very bad opinion. Still further to avoid any such imputation, it was at this second meeting resolved, that Mr. Wilkes's health should never be given in that society as a public toast: and this resolution has been uniformly observed: still further to avoid misapprehension, the society desired me to draw up an advertisement which should declare their purposes to the public.

At the third meeting of the society, March 7, (only three weeks after the first,) three hundred pounds were given to Mr. Wilkes, and a committee was appointed with the treasurers to inquire into the several demands upon Mr. Wilkes.

At the ninth meeting of the society, June 6, (only fifteen weeks from its first establishment,) it appeared that 4553*l.* had been expended in the composition of debts, &c. for Mr. Wilkes; and a further sum of 2500*l.* was ordered to be issued by the treasurers for the further discharge of Mr. Wilkes's debts during the summer. After which, and a vote of 300*l.* more to Mr. Wilkes, the society adjourned to the 10th of October following.

Any man who reads this account, will naturally suppose, that Mr. Wilkes must have felt and expressed the warmest gratitude to a society like this, which, in so short a time had performed such wonders in his favor. Whoever shall suppose so, will be much mistaken: he abhorred the society and its members. The *declarations* of the most respectable part, *disclaiming a personal attachment* to Mr. Wilkes, and professing only a regard to the public, disgusted him extremely: the *resolution* that his health should never be given as a *public toast* in that society, and the *advertisement* of supporting him and *his cause only as far as it was a public cause*, were never forgiven. Besides, he entertained a false notion that, had not this society been instituted, he should himself have received all the *ready money* subscribed by the society into his own hands; what they applied to the discharge of his debts, he considered as a kind of robbery: and hated them for their care of him, as profligate young heirs do the guardians who endeavor to save them from destruction."

"The society continued to make great progress in the affairs of Mr. Wilkes; though, it must be confessed, with very little assistance from the public at large, out of the society. They

had paid all his election expenses, and one of his fines of 500*l.* they had compounded a very considerable portion of his debts; when, on the 24th of October, they voted him 300*l.* more, making in the whole 1000*l.* for his pocket.

A few weeks after this vote, Mr. Wilkes obtained a verdict against lord Halifax, with 4000*l.* damages: I waited on Mr. Wilkes, and endeavored to persuade him that he was bound in honor, in honesty, and policy, to send these 4000*l.* to the London Tavern, in aid towards the payment of his debts; I represented to him the poverty of our bank, which had, indeed, advanced too far, and was in debt: I endeavored to make him sensible that 4000*l.* at that time, would go further in compounding his debts, than 10,000*l.* would some time afterwards: I showed him the reputation he would gain, by this act of common honesty and policy, and that he would encourage the public to subscribe towards him, and bind the gentlemen of the society never to quit him till they had at least returned him his 4000*l.*, though it was employed in the discharge of his own debts. I laboured in vain: *ready cash* made Mr. Wilkes deaf to my arguments. He would not send a penny to the society for the discharge of *his own* debts, though it was not many weeks since the society had, in one year, voted him the last part of a thousand pounds for his support.

Whilst these things were in agitation, the society, on the 8th of February, 1770, received a letter from the commons house of assembly of South Carolina, with a subscription of 1000*l.*

In this situation were the affairs of the society, when you came out of the King's Bench, on the 17th of April, 1770, only *fourteen months* since its first establishment. Your election expenses of 2973*l.* were paid:—your two fines of 1000*l.* were discharged:—12,000*l.* of your debts were compounded:—you had a *thousand* pounds from the society, besides all the private presents you received:—you reserved to yourself the *four thousand* pounds received from lord Halifax:—and there remained only 6,821*l.* 13*s.* to be compounded of your debts.

In my next, I will proceed to show the return you made to the society and the public for these obligations; from which may easily be collected your gratitude to the one, and your regard for the other. JOHN HORNE."

LETTER X.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

"On the 17th of April, 1770, Mr. Wilkes was released from the King's Bench prison; and at the next meeting of the society, April 24, he was proposed to be ballotted for as a member; and, at the following meeting, May 8, was *unanimously* chosen.

In my last, I showed what was the situation of the society's accounts at this time, and stated both what had been done, and what remained to do, viz:

Debts of Mr. Wilkes, discharged above	£ 12,000
To Mr. Wilkes, for his support - -	1,000
To his election expenses - - -	2,973
To his two fines - - - -	1,000

And by all the lists of claims on Mr. Wilkes he remained indebted 6,821*l.* 13*s.*

It is proper I should now mention what was Mr. Wilkes's *visible* situation. He had an estate of 700*l.* a year, out of which 200*l.* a year was payable to Mrs. Wilkes, and an annuity of 150*l.* was due to Mr. Reynolds, he having purchased the same for 1000*l.*; so that there remained to Mr. Wilkes a nominal 350*l.* a year. Besides this income, Mr. Wilkes had 2000*l.* in ready money: the other 2000*l.* of the sum recovered from lord Halifax, were said to be paid to Mr. Reynolds, i. e. 1200*l.* for Mr. Reynolds's law charges, &c., and 800*l.* to discharge some debts contracted by another breach of trust towards the Buckinghamshire militia, when Mr. Wilkes was their colonel."

"On quitting the King's Bench prison he took a house on a lease at *fifty pounds* a year, that he might lay out some *hundreds* on its repairs: at the same time he took a country house at *sixty* guineas for the season: and, to complete his plan of economy, he sent his daughter to Paris, to see the *Dauphin's wedding*, whilst himself was all the summer making the tour of the *watering places*. That his generous *supporters* might not be too much ridiculed, he kept no more than *six* domestics: and that his politeness and gratitude to his country might keep pace with his economy, only *three* of them were *French*

Such were the situations of Mr. Wilkes and of the society when he was released from prison.

Those who had hitherto laboured so indefatigably did not remit their diligence. In order to keep the promises of the society, and do good to the public, it was necessary that they should at length come to some conclusion of Mr. Wilkes's private affairs. They could easily see that, if they did not make haste, Mr. Wilkes would incur fresh debts faster than they could discharge the old; and how proper he should know what he had to expect from the society: and they could not begin to procure for him a *reasonable* annuity till they had first cleared his incumbrances. It was the wish of all those with whom I ever conversed, to set him free, and afterwards to procure for him a clear annuity of 600*l*. Having done so, to cease subscriptions for the further support of Mr. Wilkes, unless some new *public* reason should make it justifiable, and to apply the whole collected strength of the public to the most important public measures that should need pecuniary assistance. Whatever difficulties the *future* private extravagance of Mr. Wilkes might bring upon him, the society did not consider as any object of their concern. The public spirit of the nation would be justified by what they had done for him; and sufficient encouragement would thereby be given to all other private men to do their duty, and a sufficient lesson to kings and ministers to abstain from violence and injustice. These purposes I did not doubt to see fulfilled before the month of March, 1771. And I was hardy enough to suppose, that Mr. Wilkes would not dare to appear discontented, if (after *three* whole years of such successful labour applied to his private affairs, himself freed from his debts, and with clear six hundred pounds a year, the society (by subscriptions the expense of all public occurrences) we employed our strength at last on other important objects of public discussion. With these views, and a corresponding conduct, without ever having received the slightest favour from any party of great men in administration or opposition, I could not foresee that, by all my labour, hazard, and expense, I should gain the contradictory opprobrium of being, at the same time, the hireling

of the *one*, and the tool of the *other*: and that Mr. Wilkes, *the only private gainer in the struggle* should, of all men in the world, be the person to bring the charge against me. Mr. Wilkes, in perfect alliance and security, your [illegible] elected member for Middlesex, and [illegible] of London, a [illegible] of *thirty thousand* pounds, is the person to impute to me an interested design! to me, who have frequently risked the whole, and actually spent a great part of my little fortune in the contest, often exposed to a prison, and sometimes in danger! an interested design! *Sceva supercilia*. I know there is not one even of his phalanx that believes it.

After the summer recess, the society was to meet again Nov. 27, 1770.

On Monday, October 22, 1770, I received a note from Mr. Wilkes, to inform me that he would call the next day to talk with me on some business of consequence. I was at that moment going into the country for a week, the post-chaise was at the door, and my company waiting: I desired a gentleman who was in my room to answer the note, and to tell him I would visit him as soon as I returned. Accordingly, to my promise, on Sunday, October 28, I went to Mr. Wilkes, at Prittlewell. Our conversation turned chiefly on three things: His brother's pretensions to the chamberlainship: his expectations from the London Tavern: and his intended proceedings at Westminster on the Wednesday following. It was my misfortune to be of a different opinion from Mr. Wilkes on all three: indeed we seldom did concur in any measure, except in those which tended to his private advantage; as far as I thought it just and honorable to pursue his private interest. I met with his hearty concurrence: for he found my endeavours effectual, and he reaped the instant benefit. In all *public* measures our opinions have been uniformly as different as our aims. However, when I look back on what is past, I find the voice of the people (which Mr. Wilkes called the voice of God) in my favour: and, if the public are not to be condemned, Mr. Wilkes cannot have been very right, nor I very wrong: for, however new and extraordinary it may seem to those who are unacquainted with the particulars of what has passed, it is nevertheless most cer-

tain, that Mr. Wilkes has strenuously opposed almost every measure which the public has adopted. But, as I mean hereafter to explain the whole of his conduct in those matters, I shall confine myself at present to what relates to the society at the London Tavern. Mr. Wilkes desired *ready money*. I thought it a shameful request: I repeated to him the situation of the society which was in arrears; and showed him that, in order to discharge his remaining debts, we must borrow from some of the members on the credit of the society. His debts being once discharged, I told him, I would venture to answer for it, that he would have a clear annuity of 600*l.*: that if it amounted to 1000*l.* I should be better pleased, but would not press the thing beyond 600*l.*; that this annuity, with what he had and what his relations could do for him, ought to content him: but, whether he was contented or not, that I should trouble myself on that score no further. That we had already dwelt too long and exhausted ourselves too much on his private affairs, and should deservedly meet with the scorn and derision of the public, if we did not proceed to matters of greater public importance. Mr. Wilkes still pressed for *ready money*, and said it would be doing him more kindness to give him the money, and trust for the remainder of his debts to the *chapter of accidents*. He urged to me his old argument, which he has often repeated to many people, that 'those who do pay make amends for those who do not; and that tradesmen always charge accordingly.' I replied, that the same pretence would equally justify him for robbing them on the highway, or burning their houses down; because no doubt their gain in trade, if they are not undone, must supply all their losses. As I continued obstinate, Mr. Wilkes grew angry: he said, if he was to be treated so, it was plain the society had only made a *decoy-duck* of his name, and that he was used only as an *instrument*. I grew warm in my turn, I reproached him for his unreasonableness, selfishness, and ingratitude: I asked him what merit he pretended to with the public, and what claim he had to their support, but as an *instrument* of public good; and I assured him I would take care he should not be able to cast that reproach on the society: for that as soon as we had completed the pro-

vision for him I had mentioned, I would make a motion to give him all the money that should remain over in the banker's hand; and to advertise that, for the future, no more subscriptions would be received by the society, unless some great public occasion should arise, which exceeded the abilities of that society alone to support.

What passed between us concerning the *chamberlainship* and the *Westminster instructions*, did not tend to restore his good humour towards me. He found it in vain to use any further endeavors to bend me to his purposes; and, from that day forwards, has employed every means, by paragraphs and otherwise, to destroy the effect of any opposition I might make to his scandalous attempts.

On the 27th of November, the society met; and a committee of accounts was appointed for the 7th of December following. At the next meeting of the society, December 11, a report was made from the committee, 'That there appeared to be 743*l.* 18*s.* 5*d.*, still undischarged of the list of Mr. Wilkes's debts admitted by the society on the 17th of April, 1770.'

On the 22d of January, 1771, the society met again, according to their last adjournment. Great industry had been used by Mr. Wilkes to *pack* a majority, many meetings had been held, and dinners given at the prime minister's (Mr. Reynolds) for the purpose. *Sixteen* members, who had never paid the least attention to any part of the transactions, and had scarcely ever attended before, came merely to vote as Mr. Wilkes should direct: on the other hand, many gentlemen who disliked the attempts on the society, now stayed away, disgusted at altercation and the indecent behavior of some of Mr. Wilkes's agents: it is not wonderful, for in all large companies it is found that public wishes are not so sharp a spur as private interest. The same conduct which is pursued by the minister in *packing* a majority in *another assembly* naturally produced the same measures at this meeting. Like the house of commons, they voted their king *money without an account*, and an *approbation* of his conduct *without an inquiry*. It was by a small majority of a meeting, which consisted of *forty-seven*.

'Resolved, 1. That *after the debts due by this society are dis-*

charged, there be paid out of the first unapplied monies which shall come into the hands of the treasurers of this society the sum of 600*l.* to pay Mr. L. Macleane in full satisfaction for all debts due from John Wilkes, esq. to the said L. Macleane.

'2. Resolved, That a further subscription be now opened for the purpose of discharging all the *outstanding debts* of John Wilkes, esq., which appear to have been *bona fide* due at the time of the formation of this society.

'3. Resolved, That the public conduct of John Wilkes, esq., since his enlargement from the King's Bench prison hath been such as merits the approbation of this society.

'4. Resolved, That the public be informed that there are *some* old debts of John Wilkes, esq., which still remain unpaid, and that their further contributions are *necessary* to discharge them.'

After this meeting, many of the most respectable members talked of quitting the society, which they thought much better than staying there to wrangle, or to be made a mere club for Mr. Wilkes to impose upon the public by *general professions*, and to receive subscriptions solely for the support of his extravagance. It would not have been at all difficult to have persuaded a large majority to attend for *once*, and re-establish the public principles upon which the society first began: but *once*, or many times, would not have sufficed. Mr. Wilkes is too artful and industrious in mischief, and the tools he works with too stupid and obedient not to have made a *perpetual* attendance necessary. Such an attendance few men can, and still fewer will give, when they have no private purpose to answer; especially where they are to be liable to the ignorance and brutality of such men as Mr. Reynolds, whilst Mr. Wilkes is dexterous enough to avail himself of the former quality in his agents, to turn the latter upon his opponents. Besides, it is always much easier to produce confusion than to preserve order: and if Mr. Wilkes could every now and then procure a majority to *adopt* and *publish* some imprudent measure, the society would be sure to lose their character, and with it their importance: and we knew, for he had declared long before, that he was determined to destroy it. Still we were willing to try every mea-

sure to preserve the society, whose dissolution, as to every public purpose, we foresaw with infinite regret.

At the next meeting therefore, of the society, on February 12, 1771, one of the members[1] rose and desired to be indulged with some conversation, though he was not going to make a motion: he desired only to explain his own sentiments and understand theirs: he repeated his own *public* motives, and showed they were originally the *declared* motives of the society: much dispute, he said had, however, been lately held, whether these were originally the avowed intentions of the society, or whether it had been instituted merely for the support and emolument of Mr. Wilkes, to the exclusion of all other public measures: he therefore, for his part, waived entirely that dispute: he desired only to know what were the sentiments the society would declare *now*, and whether they would determine to act for the future as a *public* society, giving support and effectual assistance to every thing which was importantly useful to the rights of the nation and mankind, or confine themselves singly to Mr. Wilkes? He said he did not mean to make a motion of this, or put it to the vote: if there were *five* or even *three* members of that society present, who would acknowledge themselves to be confined merely to the raising of money for Mr. Wilkes, he would quit the society at once without troubling them with any reasoning on the subject.—Several other gentlemen declared the same sentiments.—This conversation was entirely unforeseen: Mr. Wilkes himself was not present: his leading partisans were without instructions on the subject: the professions were only in *general* of public motives: and *general* professions are safely made by the most interested men, who never mean to come to particulars. Much conversation however passed of a different tendency, yet no one member would acknowledge a *private* principle of action.

The member who spoke first then rose again, and said, since he found they were all agreed in their *general* motives, he would now make a *particular* motion in consequence: and he moved

[1] Mr. Horne.

—'That an immediate subscription (in order to raise five hundred pounds) be opened for Mr. Bingley, for having refused to answer interrogatories, and to submit to the illegal mode of attachment.' He represented to them that it was now near *three years* since Mr. Bingley was first sent to prison; that he had suffered almost as much imprisonment as Mr. Wilkes, and had hitherto received no reward for resisting attachment and interrogatories, which were much more dangerous and dreadful than *general warrants*; that besides, he was in a station where sentiment and public principle were not so much to be expected as in Mr. Wilkes's, and therefore required the greater encouragement. He said, he did not desire any gentleman present to subscribe to this; that he knew the money would be raised: the only question for them to consider was, whether the society would have the honor of the gift, or whether it should be given out of the society, by those gentlemen who had already determined on the measure and were desirous to contribute?

This motion seemed too reasonable to admit of debate, and yet it met with great opposition from Mr. Wilkes's friends. It was, however, carried by a majority: and near half the money was *instantly* subscribed.

At the next meeting of the society, February 26, 1771, Mr. Wilkes attended. He had collected his forces, and was shameless enough to cause them to come to the following resolution:

'That the first object of this society, in order to promote the public purposes of its institution, was to support John Wilkes, esq. against ministerial oppression, by discharging his debts and rendering him independent. That this society having resolved that the public conduct of John Wilkes, esq. has continued such as merited their approbation: and not having as yet fully accomplished their declared purpose of discharging his debts, *no new subscriptions* shall for the future be opened in this society, for *any other purpose whatsoever*, until ALL *the debts* of John Wilkes, esq. which shall appear to have been *bona fide* due at the time of the formation of this society, and have already been given in to *any* committee or general meeting thereof, shall be fully discharged or compromised.'

Before this resolution was passed, every possible method was

tried for an accommodation: it was proposed that every person might be permitted in that society to subscribe for whatever good purpose he should adopt: it was shown plainly that, by this vote, they would exclude from the society every one who wished to do public good, and who yet might not choose to subscribe to Mr. Wilkes, or, having given something, might not consent to subscribe any more. Mr. Wilkes would listen to no terms: he was now sure to accomplish his wishes, and saw, that from *this day*, the society would either *exist no longer*, or would *exist for him only.*'

JOHN HORNE."

LETTER XI.

To the Rev. Mr. Horne.†

June 20.

"Sir,—I now proceed to examine your *twelfth* letter,‡ and, according to the notice I gave you, to close a correspondence which the public have long ago called upon me to conclude. I shall therefore, necessarily, in taking leave of you, consider a few other particulars, which from hurry or inadvertency, I have omitted.

The account you have published of the society, called the *Supporters of the Bill of Rights*, and their proceedings, is equally prolix and fallacious. In the state of the pecuniary transactions of the society, you give so perplexed a detail of my affairs, that I am totally at a loss to comprehend your accounts. You pretended, in a former letter, that at the institution of that society I was scarcely thought of, and you endeavored to prove that paradox by a single advertisement after the

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* The reader will readily perceive that Mr. Horne never attended a meeting of the Bill of Rights Society after the day above mentioned—the 26th of February, 1771. It is important to note this fact, as will hereafter appear.

† I here insert the greater part of Mr. Wilkes's last letter to Mr. Horne, by which the reader will be enabled to judge of the whole. Contemptible quibbling and coarse language characterize all his letters in this correspondence.

‡ The previous letter of Mr. Horne, in the original series, was No. 12.

second meeting, omitting all the resolutions of the *first* at the very formation of the society, which I have already quoted. Will you, sir, allow the society themselves to determine what their own intentions were? Feb. 26, 1771, it was resolved, 'That the *first* object of this society, in order to promote the purposes of its institution, was to support John Wilkes, esq. against ministerial oppression, by discharging his debts and rendering him independent.' In your account of Mr. Wilkes's debts, you studiously omit a remarkable part of an advertisement repeatedly published by the Society of the Bill of Rights in all the papers. 'N. B. 7149*l.* 6*s.* of Mr. Wilkes's debts appear to have been incurred by his having been security for other persons.' Did you fear that this might be brought to confute your charge of his indifference for the interest of his friends, when it appears that he subjected himself to the payment of so large a sum on their account? You will please to recollect that, by an early resolution of the society, on May 9. 1769, printed in the papers, 'All *committees* of the society are to meet on every first and third Tuesday in the month, at the London Tavern, at one in the afternoon,' and that the *committee of accounts*, by the advertisement of Nov. 20. 1770, 'was always open to all members of the society.' If, therefore, you suspected the least fraud from any quarter, it was your duty to have attended to detect it. Although you have *deserted* the society, it is still incumbent on you to acquaint them of any fraud or collusion you have discovered. I call upon you to write a letter, stating the particulars, to the chairman of the next meeting, and to give your proofs of the smallest intended imposition of any kind, or you will pass for an infamous calumniator of your *benefactor*, Mr. Reynolds, and other men of honor, whom you have wickedly traduced. When you mention that 'The other 2000*l.* of the sum recovered from lord Halifax were said to be paid to Mr. Reynolds, i. e. 1200*l.* for Mr. Reynolds's law charges, &c., and 800*l.* to discharge some debts contracted by another breach of trust towards the Buckinghamshire militia, when Mr. Wilkes was their colonel,' you well know that you are deceiving the public, for I have frequently told you I paid Mr. Reynolds 2000*l.* *on account* for law

charges and debt, which he paid for me. The *breach of trust*, you talk of, is among your many barefaced falsehoods, which will *cover you with infamy*. Your characteristic is the evil spirit of lying."

You say, 'He took a country house at *sixty* guineas *for the season*; and to complete his plan of economy, he sent his daughter to Paris to see the *Dauphin's wedding*, whilst himself was *all the summer* making the tour of the *watering places*.' I rented a ready-furnished house at *sixty* guineas *for the year*, while my small house here was repairing. When it was completed, I let the house at Fulham for the remainder of the year. You assert, 'On quitting the King's Bench prison, he took a house on a lease at *fifty pounds* a year.' Is it not possible, sir, for you once to tell the *whole* truth? The rent is *fifty guineas* a year. My daughter went to Paris at the time of the *Dauphin's wedding*, on the invitation of a lady of fashion to her own house. I met her at Dover on her return from France, and during the month of August, we made a tour together. When you say, that I was '*all the summer* making the tour of the watering places,' it is a malicious falsehood you designedly utter, for I was only absent while the dog-star raged, when there is a vacation from all city business. You mean to insinuate a total want of *economy*. I know *the sin that most easily besets me*, and I know, too, where you and the ministry expect to surprise me. You will both be disappointed. My friends have with pleasure remarked *my reformation*.

As to the Rockingham administration, my regard to them arises solely from their services to this country and the colonies, not from any personal favors. I do not owe a *pardon* to them, although I warmly solicited it during the whole time of their power. *Soon after they came into employment*, I wished to have gone in a public character to Constantinople; but I very soon dropped that idea. I never did receive from them either *pension*, *gratuity*, or *reward*. When I said *precarious*, I used the word as synonymous with *dependent*. That upright administration was removed in July, 1766. My declaration, 'never to accept from the crown either place, pension, gratuity, or emolument of any kind,' was not made to my most meritorious constituents, the

freeholders of Middlesex, till June 18, 1768. I then pledged myself to them, and added, that 'I would live and die in their service, a private gentleman, perfectly free, under no control but the laws, under no influence but theirs,' &c.

Whether you proceed, sir, to a *thirteenth*, or a *thirtieth* letter, is to me a matter of the most entire indifference. You will no longer have me your correspondent. All the efforts of your malice and rancor cannot give me a moment's disquietude. They will only torment your own breast. I am wholly indifferent about your sentiments of me, happy in the favorable opinion of many valuable friends, in the most honorable connexions, both public and private, and in the prospect of rendering myself eminently useful to my country. Formerly, in exile, when I was *urbe patriaque extorris*,* and torn from every sacred tie of friendship, I have moistened my bread with my tears. The rest of my life I hope to enjoy my morsel at home in peace and cheerfulness, among those I love and honor: far from the malignant eye of the false friend and the insidious hypocrite.

I am, sir, your humble servant,

JOHN WILKES."

LETTER XII.

To Mr. John Wilkes.

Give you joy, sir. The parson of Brentford is at length *defeated*.† He no longer rules with an absolute sway over the city of London. You have detected his jesuitical deep-laid schemes of running away with the monument on his back. You have *rescued* the *prostrate livery* from his *dictatorial authority;* have congratulated them on their victory; and restored to them a perfect liberty—of doing whatever *you* please.‡ The poor parson has been buffeted on the hustings

* An exile from the city and country.

† This alludes to the city elections, which turned out, in exact conformity to the wishes, and the interest of Mr. Wilkes.

‡ Junius in a private letter to Wilkes, August 21, 1771, writes as follows:

"Whatever imaginary views may be ascribed to the author, it must always *make part of Junius's plan* to support Mr. Wilkes while *he* makes common cause

where he did not appear, and hissed out of playhouses which he never entered; he has been sung down in the streets, and exalted to a conspicuous corner with the pope and the devil in the print shops; and finally, to complete the triumph over this mighty adversary, you have caused him to be burnt in effigy.

Formerly, these arts used to be practised against a minister of state, or at least against some person whose wealth and power might afford a pretence for suspicion of undue influence; but if so insignificant a name as mine can, by paragraphs, &c., be made important enough to scare them with apprehensions for their independence, you will never want a bugbear for the livery. You are heartily welcome to the use you have made

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with the people. I would engage your favorable attention to what I am going to say to you; and I entreat you not to be too hasty in concluding, from the apparent tendency of this letter, to any *possible interests* or *connexions* of my own."

"Mr. Horne, after doing *much mischief*, is now I think, completely *defeated* and *disarmed*. The author of the *unhappy divisions* in the city is *removed*. Why should we suffer *his works* to live after him? In this view, I confess, I am vindictive, and would visit his sins upon his children. I would punish him in his offspring, by repairing the breaches he has made.—Convinced that I am speaking to a man who has spirit enough to act if his judgment be satisfied, I will not scruple to declare at once, that *Mr. Sawbridge* ought to be *lord mayor*, and that he ought to owe it to *your* first motion, and to the exertion of all your credit in the city." Junius then gives his reasons for the course he advises his *friend* Wilkes to take.

The idea of punishing the father by giving his offspring the first office in the city was entirely new; and although the *bait* was favorably received by Wilkes, it was not relished by his party, and Junius was obliged reluctantly to abandon the project. Junius said himself, "I do not deny that a stroke like this is above the *level* of *vulgar policy*, or that if you were a *much less considerable man* than you are, it would not suit you."

As before observed, particular notice will hereafter be taken of the intimate friendship existing between Horne and Sawbridge at this time, as well as before and afterwards.

The passage on which I have been commentating in the foregoing extract, although in opposition in sentiment, is nevertheless quite in the style of Horne; who, in answer to a frivolous impertinent charge, brought against him by Wilkes, about the publication of some pamphlets, says, "You bid me give you the evidence of Mr. Davis, both the father and the son, and of Mr. Foote. You who bring the charge should take the *onus probandi!* I can only give my own evidence. They must, if they please, give theirs for themselves. But why this Judaism, sir? Why will not Mr. Davis the father satisfy you? Why visit the sins of the fathers upon the children?"

of it, and I shall freely forgive you a repetition of the same indignities, as long as you confine them to the newspapers and effigy: but, alas! all the honors and preferments you have heaped upon me have likewise been only in effigy: his grace of Grafton invites me to no conference; lord North admits me to no levee; the Exchequer withholds my pension; and the bishop of Durham will not let me touch one farthing of my quarterage. So that I have nothing left to console me but the support of the Shelburne faction, the recovery of my old clothes, the subscriptions I have pocketed, and Sir Joseph's three bank-notes.

When I first began my public correspondence with you, I engaged to give an account of the *commencement*, *progress*, and *conclusion* of the intercourse between us; because, from the circumstances of the relation, honest men of any tolerable discernment will be able to form a judgment how far they ought, and how far they ought not, to support you. You engaged, on your part, to give a *full answer* to every charge I should bring. *I mean to keep my promise;* and though I thought it proper to forbear the prosecution of it during the city election, I shall now proceed: the deep researches, laborious study, and prodigious science necessary to qualify you for the office of sheriff, will excuse you from giving any answer; and leave you at liberty to lie anonymously in the newspapers without detection.

When the motion was made at the London Tavern, of '*No new subscriptions* for the future for *any other purpose whatsoever*, until *all* the debts of John Wilkes, esq. should be fully discharged,' after a pause of some minutes Mr. Horne rose, and said he had waited in momentary expectation, that Mr. Wilkes would have taken the opportunity to entreat his friend to withdraw a motion so fatal to the reputation both of Mr. Wilkes and the society: he expressed his amazement that Mr. Wilkes could silently hear a measure proposed, which could produce nothing but disgrace to both; but he said it was impossible Mr. Wilkes could continue silent upon the subject, unless he was willing it should be understood, that this attempt to impose upon the public and the society proceeded from himself. Mr. Horne added, that since the subscription for Mr. Bingley had very much offended Mr. Wilkes, and was the avowed reason of this

motion to prevent any 'new subscriptions for the future for any other purpose whatsoever," he would endeavor to satisfy them of the propriety of that subscription, and the impropriety of the present motion. Mr. Bingley had above a year before repeatedly sent petitions to the society, which Mr. ———* had as often deferred, in expectation of finishing Mr. Wilkes's affairs, and from a desire that nothing might interfere to prevent it; but when it was evident that a party was formed to avoid coming to any conclusion, even after *three* years' attention to that single object, it would have been cruel to the poor man to have deferred any longer the generous intentions of several gentlemen towards him. But there was a much stronger reason than private compassion against any further delay; *the freedom of the press* was materially concerned in moving the subscription for Bingley at the last meeting. Mr. Horne said, he was sorry to be forced to mention transactions which ought to be kept secret, and to explain motives which ought to be understood but not expressed in large companies; however, that rather than see his intentions of public good defeated by this *restrictive resolution*, he would tell them his chief motive for moving the subscription at the last meeting. Mr. Horne observed, that he had some small time since received information from an authority which he could not doubt, that a certain great personage had conversed with the *elder Onslow* at St. James's near half an hour; that in that conversation it was mentioned to Mr. Onslow as a matter of surprise, that the house of commons permitted their debates to be published; and it was asked, if it was ever suffered before, and why something was not done to prevent it? This question from such a person was well understood to be an order; and after the repeated failures of lord Mansfield in the courts of law, both by *information* and *attachment*, it was easy to see whither they would next have recourse to destroy the freedom of the press. It was plain Mr. Onslow understood it; for soon after, on the *fifth* of February, his relation, the *younger Onslow*, made a motion in the house of commons, that an order of that house against

* Reynolds.

printing any part of the debates should be read and entered amongst the minutes of that day. Mr. Horne said, thisw as a confirmation to him of his intelligence, and increased his suspicions of what was to follow; he had therefore himself *purposely* caused to be inserted in the Middlesex Journal of February 7, an innocent paragraph about Mr. Onslow's motion: expecting that *the Onslows* would bring it before the house; which happened as it was foreseen; for the printers, *Wheble*, who first inserted, and *Thompson*, who copied that paragraph, were ordered to attend the house of commons. In this interval the society met, (on the 12th of February,) before the order of attendance to the printers was expired; and Mr. Horne chose that particular moment to move the subscription for Bingley, on purpose to encourage the printers, (whom it was necessary to use on this occasion against the usurped power of the house,) and to show them, by this example, that they too would be effectually supported, and rewarded for resisting an illegal and scandalous attempt upon the freedom of the press. Mr. Horne declared, that this subscription for Bingley did instantly produce the desired effect, and *both* the printers refused to obey; and there was no doubt, (the law being clear in the case, that a power of punishment cannot belong to the house of commons,) that other printers would likewise depend upon the laws of their country and the support of that society, and refuse obedience to any similar usurpation of the house over them. But, said Mr. Horne, should you now, gentleman, come to a resolution of *no new subscriptions* for the future for *any other purpose whatsoever* until *all* Mr. Wilkes's debts shall be fully discharged,' you will undo all that has been done; the *public* good effect of Bingley's subscription will be lost; the printers will despair of support; and you cannot expect that they should be able alone and unsupported to oppose, however legally, the powers of government, which are now united against the rights of the people; even if they should, the contest would be too unequal, the printers would be undone, and the press ruined. He therefore entreated them to lay aside all little, factious, private views, and forbear a resolution which would certainly be productive of such bad consequences to the public, and such dishonor to the society.

He concluded with addressing himself again to Mr. Wilkes: he called upon his policy, his public spirit, his gratitude, his modesty; all which should strongly persuade him to show his disapprobation of a motion which was to restrain gentlemen, who had done so much for him, from putting their hands in their pockets to relieve any other object of compassion, or to promote any public measure.

To all these arguments, Mr. Wilkes was absolutely dumb; no sense of shame could force a single word from him; and the resolution of no *new subscriptions for the future but for Mr. Wilkes*, was carried, himself being present, by the same gentlemen who had before voted against Bingley's subscription, and some other personal friends of Mr. Wilkes, who had been brought thither for the purpose, amongst whom were his *two brothers*, his *attorney*, &c. JOHN HORNE.

July 10."

Respecting the justice of this dispute, there can be little hesitation; but, in regard to its impolicy, no doubt whatever can now be entertained. Mr. Horne did not succeed in his attempt to expose Mr. Wilkes to the multitude, for he became more popular than ever, and that too, in consequence of the opposition to his career.

This gentleman, indeed, although his talents and learning were far inferior, yet, by means of superior skill, and a more intimate knowledge of mankind, appears, on the whole, to have foiled his adversary. By stoutly denying some, and artfully parrying other charges against his character, he continued to confuse and perplex the whole business; and although Mr. Horne had most, if not all the respectable men on his side, yet the public at large, which is seldom capable of entering into a minute and laborious investigation, after being some time bewildered in the maze of a prolonged periodical correspondence, at length declared, fully and unequivocally, in behalf of Mr. Wilkes. While their common enemies rejoiced at a quarrel which, by dividing, weakened their party, and, for a time at least, subjected both of the champions to the animadversions, and even to the ridicule of the public.

MISCELLANEOUS ARTICLES.

CHAPTER XIII.

Introductory Remarks—Examples of the Practice and Skill of Junius in attacking and defending himself—Sentiments of Junius in respect to Wilkes—Criticism on the Correspondence of Junius and Horne.

As Mr. Wilkes had triumphed over his adversary by carrying the city elections, and had declined any farther correspondence with Mr. Horne, the latter was left in a very awkward position. In this dilemma it became necessary for him to seek out some new scheme for revenge; and having, it seems, the command of Junius's pen, he substitutes Junius for Wilkes, and continues the warfare; and, as it is allowed on all hands, with complete success. The attack through Junius was made the 9th of July, 1771, the day previous to the date of his last letter to Wilkes. So no time was lost.

Mr. Horne was so conscious of the integrity of his views and the justness of his cause, that he felt confident, if he could make the case fairly understood, that at least, that portion of the public which was governed by reason and common sense, would declare in his favor. And this was evidently the fact at the conclusion of this sham controversy.

Wilkes had gained the populace, and consequently the elections had terminated agreeably to his views. The battle was over,—Horne was vanquished—completely prostrated. Under

these circumstances was it possible that an honorable man, a by-stander who had hitherto remained a peaceable spectator of the fray, should now step forward and aim a deadly blow at the fallen combatant? Had this been the case, well might Horne have exclaimed in earnest, Wilkes, Foote, and Junius, united at the same time against one poor parson, are fearful odds! But Horne was well assured that he should receive no injury from his friend Junius. They were upon this occasion, as usual, co-operating in support of one common cause. The assailant, and the repeller, it is apparent throughout the correspondence of Junius and Horne, were but one person under different characters.—The character of Wilkes was so abandoned, and that of Horne so correct and disinterested, that no person, possessing the principles and good sense of Junius, could have been so lost to decency and respect for his own reputation as *seriously* to vindicate the former and condemn the latter.

Is it credible, that Horne and Junius, *Nisus* and *Euryalus*, if they had been distinct persons, who had thus long carried on a vindictive warfare against the common enemy—both aiming at the same goal, and mutually supporting each other—the one combating in face of the foe, in open field—the other in ambush, aiming his envenomed shafts with unerring skill at the same objects, should, without the least deviation in either from the principles which both had uniformly supported, turn bitter foes, and revile and reproach each other? *Credat Judæus Apella!*

That the same opinions were entertained and often expressed of Wilkes, the ostensible cause of the quarrel, under both characters, Horne and Junius, I shall fully show hereafter.

The pretended difference of Horne and Junius, so far from militating against the probability of the former being the author of the letters under the signature of the latter, in my opinion, is one of the strongest arguments in favor of it.

The following judicious remarks are extracted from the Miscellaneous Works of George Hardinge, esq. (see Barker, p. 112.) "I cannot help wondering that, by examining the politics of each paper, those of his (Junius's) time did not find him out. But *these cheats* often hold out false colors, and put us upon a *wrong scent*. For example, if I was the reputed writer of a

libel, I should *abuse myself* or my bosom friends, to disarm the suspicion."

Two important objects were intended to be accomplished by this controversy. The one, to show the merits of the dispute with Wilkes, and thereby render him despicable in the view of the thinking part of the community. The other, to blind the eyes of the public in respect to the author of the letters of Junius. Both of which were effected.

Mr. Wilkes was a politician by profession; a profession, says Joel Barlow, in his "Advice to the Privileged Orders of Europe," more injurious to society than that of a highway robber. The following sketch of his character is given by Mr. Bissett, in his History of the Reign of George III.:

"John Wilkes, esq., member of parliament for Aylesbury, was a man of ready ingenuity, versatile talents, taste, and classical erudition; he was distinguished for wit and pleasantry, and surpassed most men as an entertaining companion. He was not, however, eminent as a senator or lawgiver. He was extremely dissipated, and as indifferent to morals as to his pecuniary circumstances. Prodigality had ruined his fortune, and profligacy his character. Bankrupt in circumstances and reputation, he had applied to lord Bute to extricate him from his difficulties. His character was so notorious, that a statesman who regarded morality could not patronize, though he might easily have rendered him a tool. Wilkes in revenge, became a *flaming patriot*, inveighed against the attacks of our rights and liberties, and against the wickedness of the rulers; and the North Briton was one of the chief vehicles of his animadversions. The course which the ministry pursued gave a consequence both to the paper and its author, which the intrinsic merit of either would never have attained."——"On the 23d of April, 1763, this number (45) was published, and it was no sooner perused by the ministry, than a council was called, and an immediate prosecution proposed. The chief justice Mansfield declared his disapprobation of that mode of procedure: 'I am (he said) decidedly against the prosecution: his consequence will die away if you let him alone; but by public notice of him, you will increase that consequence: which is the very thing he

covets, and keeps in full view.' The contrary opinion, however, prevailed; and on the 26th a warrant was issued for seizing the authors, printers, and publishers of the North Briton, No. 45."

Previously to taking a slight review of the correspondence of Junius and Horne, I will quote from the Miscellaneous Letters of Junius other examples of his adroitness in attacking and defending himself. The intention being merely to show the eminent qualifications of Junius for this species of finesse, the subject matter of the letters will be but slightly glanced over.

In August, 1768, he wrote a series of letters under different signatures, addressed to the Printer of the Public Advertiser, reflecting chiefly on the public conduct of the earl of Hillsborough, particularly in respect to the removal of sir Jeffery Amherst from the governorship of Virginia, to which place, it seems, he had been appointed. In regard to whose dismission Junius finally shows he cared as little as he probably did about the removal of Philip Francis from a clerkship in the war-office.

As these attacks appear to have excited but little attention, he at length addressed the earl personally, under the signature of Lucius, as follows:

To the earl of Hillsborough.

28 August, 1768.

"My lord.—The honorable lead you have taken in the affairs of America, hath drawn upon you the whole attention of the public. You declared yourself the single minister for that country, and it was very proper you should convince the world you were so, by marking your outset with a *coup d'eclat*. The dismission of sir Jeffery Amherst has given a perfect establishment to your authority, and I presume you will not think it necessary or useful to hazard strokes of this sort hereafter. It will be advisable at least to wait until this affair is forgotten, and if you continue in office till that happens, you will surely be long enough a minister to satisfy all your ambition.

The world attributes to your lordship the entire honor of sir Jeffery Amherst's dismission, because there is no other person

in the cabinet, who could be supposed to have a wish or motive to give such advice to the crown."

[Here Junius gives reasons why the members of the cabinet whom he names would not probably have given the advice complained of and proceeds:]

"I think I have now named all the cabinet but the earl of Chatham.

His infirmities have forced him into a retirement, where I presume he is ready to suffer, with a sullen submission, every insult and disgrace that can be heaped upon a miserable, decrepid, worn out old man. But it is impossible he should be so far active in his own dishonor, as to advise the taking away an employment, given as a reward for the first military success that distinguished his entrance into administration. He is indeed a *compound of contradictions*, but his letter to sir Jeffery Amherst stands upon record, and is not to be explained away. You know, my lord, that Mr. Pitt therein assured sir Jeffery Amherst, that the government of Virginia was given him merely as a reward, and solemnly pledged the royal faith that his residence should never be required. *Lost as he is*,* he would not dare to contradict this letter. If he did, it would be something more than madness. The disorder must have quitted his head, and fixed itself in his heart.

The business is now reduced to a point, either your lordship advised this measure, or it happened by accident. You must suffer the whole reproach, for you are entitled to all the honor of it. What then is apparently the fact? one of your cringing, bowing, fawning, sword-bearing brother courtiers† ruins himself by an enterprise,‡ which would have ruined thousands if it had succeeded. It becomes necessary to send him abroad. Sir Jeffery Amherst is one of the mildest and most moderate

* It will be recollected that it is attempted, in the correspondence of Junius and Horne, to make the former a warm friend of this same lord Chatham.

† Lord Boutetort. ‡ The W——y Company.

of men;—ergo, such a man will bear any thing. His government will be a handsome provision for Boutetort, and if he frets—why he may have a pension. Your emissaries lose their labor, when they talk with so much abhorrence of sinecures, non-residence, and the necessity of the king's service. You are conscious, my lord, that these are pompous words without a shadow of meaning. The whole nation is convinced that the fact is such as I have stated it. But to make it a little plainer, I shall ask your lordship a few questions, to which the public will expect, and your reputation, if you have any regard for it, demands, that you should give an immediate and strict answer.

1. When the government of Virginia was offered to sir Jeffery Amherst, did he not reply, that his military employments took up all his time, and that he could not accept the government if residence were expected?

2. Did not Mr. Pitt, then secretary of state, assure him in the king's name, that it was meant only as a mark of his Majesty's favor, and that this residence would never be expected." &c.

"Now, my lord, you have voluntarily embarked in a most odious, perhaps it may prove to you a most dangerous, business. Your Pylades will sneak away to his government; but *you* must bear the brunt of it here. For the questions which I have proposed to you, I must tell you plainly, that they *must and shall* be answered.

You may affect to *take no notice of them*, perhaps, and tell us *you treat them with the contempt they deserve*. Such an expedient may be wise and spirited enough when applied to a declaration of rebellion on the part of the colonies, and God knows it has succeeded admirably. But it shall not avail you here.

Num negare audes? Quid taces? Convincam ci negas.*

LUCIUS.

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* Now dare you deny? Why are you silent? I will convict you if you deny.—*Am. Ed.*

Junius, it will be perceived, was determined to have an opponent; "the questions (he says) which I have proposed *must* and *shall* be answered." Accordingly, the next day he comes out against himself under the signature of Cleophas, as follows:

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

30 August, 1768.

"Sir,—I shall not pretend to enter into the merits of sir Jeffery Amherst's dismission from his government of Virginia. Every body knows he deserves a great deal of the public: and if what I have heard be true, even the present administration do not refuse it him. But there are a number of *busy incendiaries*, who use every means to poison the minds of the good people of England, and to abuse those in power, whoever they are. These neither inquire into the truth of the matter, nor do they fail to show the most disagreeable view of every action of the ministry. An impudent varlet, Y. Z., in this day's paper, talks of forty or fifty lives lost in St. George's Fields. When was it? Others have heaped together a parcel of ill-natured lies, and given it the name of an account of the dismission of sir Jeffery Amherst.

The particulars of sir Jeffery Amherst's dismission, I am told are as follow."

[Here are given a number of futile reasons for this dismission.]

"I shall make no comment on this. I tell it as a fact, which I have heard from what people call good authority. The dismission of an experienced and deserving commander requires some attention; and there can be no harm in making the public acquainted with it. The number of falsehoods that have been spread abroad about this transaction have induced me to send you this.

I must tell you, however, that my information is second hand, but it may have this good effect, even if not true, to induce those who know the contrary to do as I have done. I shall

therefore conclude with this question: are these things true or not?

CLEOPHAS."

To the earl of Hillsborough.

1 September, 1768.

"My lord,—In the ordinary course of life, a regularity of accounts, a precision in points of fact, and a punctual reference to dates, form a strong presumption of integrity. On the other hand, an apparent endeavor to perplex the order and simplicity of facts, to confound dates, and to wander from the main question, are shrewd signs of a rotten cause and a guilty conscience. Let the public determine between your lordship and me. You have forfeited all title to respect: but I shall treat you with tenderness and mercy, as I would a criminal at the bar of justice.

In your letter signed Cleophas you are pleased to assume the character of a person half informed. *We understand the use of this expedient.*[*] You avail yourself of every thing that can be said for you by a third person, without being obliged to abide by the apology, if it should fail you. My lord, this is a paltry art, unworthy of your station, unworthy of every thing but the cause you have undertaken to defend. While you pursue these artifices, it is impossible to know on what principles you really rest your defence. But you may shift your ground as often as you please; you shall gain no advantage by it. Your lordship, under the character of Cleophas, is exactly acquainted with particulars, which could only be known to a few persons, while you totally forget a series of facts known to thousands."

"Permit me now to refer your lordship to the questions stated in my last letter, and to desire you to answer them strictly. If you do not, the public will draw its own conclusions.

Your emissaries, my lord, have rather more zeal than discretion. One of them, who calls himself *A considerate Englishman*, could not write by authority, because he is entirely unac-

[*] No one understood this finesse better than Junius.

quainted with facts. His declamation therefore signifies nothing. In his assertions however there is something really not unpleasant. He assures us that your lordship's great abilities were brought into employment to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's administration. It puts me in mind of the consulship which Caligula intended for his horse, and of a project which Buckhorse once entertained of obliging the learned world with a correct edition of the classics. LUCIUS."

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

7 September, 1768.

"Sir,—As I have not the least intention to enter into any dispute with *Lucius*, indulge me but this once, and give me leave to assure you, it shall be the last on the subject from me; and though this man writes so ungenteelly, that he scarce deserves an answer, yet I could not help thinking this much necessary in justice to a nobleman whom he has most shamefully attacked in consequence of my letter, but whose character is above the reach of malice, and who will be respected when such *pests of society* are no more.

The account I sent you relative to the resignation of sir Jeffery Amherst I had heard publicly talked of at table, and in a coffee-house: it was told as no secret; but was said to be from very good authority. I sent it as a piece of intelligence without either adding or diminishing. I made no comment on it as I intended no offence. Facts were stated as they were told, and as no dates were mentioned, I gave none. I left it to the public to form opinions as they pleased; to sir Jeffery Amherst's friends to contradict it if they thought proper; and it has served as a bone for *curs* of opposition to *snarl* at.

Though I do not mean to enter into any dispute with *this fellow*, yet I cannot help making a few observations on his letter. That the government of Virginia was given away four days before the intention of administration was mentioned to sir Jeffery Amherst, I have good ground to believe it is not fact: and if you, *Lucius*, possessed but one grain of honesty, and if you had no other intention but to communicate useful information

to the public, you would have told them so; that it was applied for as soon as it was whispered that such a measure was to be adopted, upon the supposition that sir Jeffery Amherst would not choose to reside, I can believe: that it was promised to lord Boutetort in case he did not, I can likewise believe; and this might have been four, or even fourteen days, for ought I know, before it was mentioned; but pray where is the harm in all this?

But speak out *malevolence*, speak *envy*, *disappointment* and *ill-nature*. What in the name of goodness could be sir Jeffery Amherst's objection to lord Boutetort? Was it because he is a nobleman? Because he has gone to the chapel at St. James's and has carried the sword of state before his king? Because he never has insulted majesty, but has always behaved himself as a dutiful and loyal subject, and respectfully to his sovereign? Are these the weighty motives for objecting to his succession? Or is it still a greater crime to be poor? And do these make it an *affront*, not an *injury*? Forbid it heaven! Forbid it sir Jeffery Amherst's better genius! What would you have had, *Lucius*? Would you have wished to have had the naming of sir Jeffery's successor! What a pity you had not! I declare you deserved it! How could my lord Hillsborough dare to recommend without your permission!

It is strange, *Lucius*, that you cannot write one line without abuse. Had you made your remarks upon the duke of Grafton's answer to the first article without abusing his grace, it would have been genteel: but the scurrilous language you use, even when your arguments are just, proves that you are equally acquainted with the *gentleman*, and *sense* of *honor*.

Whatever delicate feelings you, *Mr. Lucius*, may have, I know not; but I am of opinion that sinecure places, non-resident governments, and pensions are in fact the same, though different in names: nay, the worst of the whole appears to me to be a non-resident governor.

And, after all, what was sir Jeffery Amherst but a pensioner on the colony of Virginia? he did nothing for it, and was paid. Our idea of a pension is a reward granted for past services, so was his—such as you, *Lucius*, such *tools* of opposition such

state incendiaries, venal mercenary wretches are glad to receive, rewards of your labors infinitely less honorable than either place or pension.

And now, *Mr. Lucius*, I'll tell you a secret. Your supposing my letter to come from my lord Hillsborough, in my opinion did credit to the performance, and honor to me: but in justice to him I must declare, that I am not, know not, never saw, nor never spoke to the earl of Hillsborough in my life—but just as formerly, CLEOPHAS."

To the earl of Hillsborough.

9 September, 1768.

"My lord,—It is indifferent to the public, whether the letters signed *Cleophas* are written by your lordship, or under your immediate direction. Whoever commits this humble begging language to paper, we know to a certainty the person by whom it is held. We know the suppliant style your lordship has condescended to adopt at routs, at tea-tables, and in banker's shops. But although you have changed your tone, I am bound in honor not to give you quarter. You have offended heinously against your country, and public justice demands an example for the welfare of mankind.

I foresaw Cleophas would soon be *disavowed*. It seems the poor gentleman never saw, nor spoke to your lordship in his life, *but just as formerly*. The saving is a good one.

You say your character is above the reach of malice. True, my lord, you have fixed that reproach upon your character to which malice can add nothing. You say it will be respected when such pests of society as I am are no more. I agree with you that it is very little respected *at present*.* and believe I may

* This has a particular reference to the author personally. *At present* is printed in italics in Woodfall's edition, and was of course so marked by the author; which would almost make one suppose he intended to point himself out. The letter was written a little over five months after the famous election at Middlesex, in which Mr. Horne took so conspicuous a part in favor of Wilkes. This, no doubt, rendered him extremely obnoxious to the clergy of the established church of which he was a member, as well as to the court party generally.

unluckily have been the spoil of good company: but I doubt whether my death, or even your own, will restore you to your good fame. Your peace of mind is gone for ever.

Your questions in favor of lord Boutetort amount to nothing. It is not that he is a bad man, or an undutiful subject. But he is a trifling character and ruined in his fortunes. Poverty of itself is certainly not a crime. Yet the prodigality, which squanders a fair estate, is in the first instance dishonorable:—in the next it leads to every species of meanness and dependence, and when it aims at a recovery at the expense of better men, becomes highly criminal.* Will your lordship, can you, with a steady countenance, affirm that it was the *necessities* of the state, and not his own, which sent him to Virginia?

I shall conclude with hinting to you (in a way which you alone will understand) that there is a part of my behavior to you, for which you owe me some acknowledgment. I know the ostensible defence you have given to the public differs widely from the real one intrusted privately to your friends. You are sensible that the most distant insinuation of what that defence is would ruin you at once. But I am a man of honor, and will neither take advantage of your imprudence, nor of the difficulty of your situation. LUCIUS."

To the earl of Hillsborough.

15 September, 1768.

"My lord,—There is no surer sign of a weak head than a settled depravity of heart. A base action is a disorder of the mind, and next to the folly of doing it, is the folly which defends it. Had the letter signed *Lucius* never been answered,† you would not have so shamefully betrayed the weakness of your cause, and your silence might have been interpreted into a consciousness of innocence. The question is now exhausted, for the public is convinced. How well or ill we have argued is of infinitely less importance than the integrity of facts. Yet

* A fair hit at John Wilkes. † Answered by Junius himself.

even facts, though separately true, will prove nothing, if the order in which they happened be confounded."

"That you are a civil, polite person is true. Few men understand the little morals better, or observe the great ones less, than your lordship. You can bow and smile in an honest man's face, while you pick his pocket. These are the virtues of a court in which your education has not been neglected. In any other school you might have learned that simplicity and integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherst was fighting the battles of this country, while you, my lord, the darling child of prudence and urbanity, were practising the generous arts of a courtier, and securing an honorable interest in the antichamber of a favorite. LUCIUS.

P. S. A friend of mine has taken the pains to collect a number of the epithets with which lord Hillsborough has been pleased to honor me in the course of our correspondence. I shall lay them before the public in one view, as a specimen of his lordship's urbanity and singular condescension.

1. Wretched scribbler. 2. Worthless fellow. 3. Vile incendiary. 4. False liar, *in opposition to a true one*. 5. Snarler. 6. Contemptible thing. 7. Abandoned tool of opposition, and diabolical miscreant. 8. Impudent, scurrilous wretch. 9. Rascal and scoundrel, *passim*.* 10. Barking cur: *by way of distinction from* 11. Barking animal; *cum multis aliis*.

To all which I shall only say, that his lordship's arguments are upon a level with his politeness."

So we find the author did not mind being called hard names under an assumed character, and as to that of John Horne, he had been so inured to foul language under the discipline of his friend Wilkes, as to become perfectly callous to its effects.

After all these attacks, rejoinders, and rebutters, Junius shows his indifference to the subject matter of dispute, in a letter dated Nov. 14, in which he expresses himself as follows:

"In one gazette we see sir Jeffery Amherst dismissed: in the very next, we see him restored, and both without reason or

* In many places.

decency. The peerage, which had been absolutely refused, is granted, and as in the first instance the royal faith was violated, in the second the royal dignity is betrayed."

Junius played the same double game in the case of general Gansel; who had been rescued from the bailiffs by soldiers under his command. He commenced upon this subject under his own proper signature, but delayed its prosecution in that character till he could furnish himself more fully with the facts. In the mean time he both justifies and abuses himself under the signatures of X. X. and Y. Y.

Whenever any article, not written by Junius, is admitted into this collection of Miscellaneous Letters, for the better understanding of the subject, which is rarely the case, it is so stated by Mr. Woodfall, as will be observed in respect to a writer under the signature of Modestus.

Junius, under the signature of Y. Y., thus addresses the printer of the Public Advertiser:

Nov. 23, 1769.

"Sir,—Junius and his journeymen have engrossed the whole alphabet; but from A. B. to X. X. the style and manner of the shop are easily discovered. From alpha to omega, the same attention to a period, and the same neglect of good sense, manners, and propriety. However, Mr. X. X. in to-day's Public Advertiser has even out-heroded Herod." He then states that a writer under the signature of Modestus (who, Mr. Woodfall says, was a Mr. Dalrymple, a Scotch lawyer,) "had demonstrated that the narrative (given by Junius respecting general Gansel's affair) was false in every circumstance material to the question; and the observations not only ridiculous in the view of supporting the conclusion attempted here to be drawn, but in a supreme degree injudicious to the cause they were intended to promote.

To this Junius makes no reply, and Modestus, after a decent forbearance, presumes to put him in mind of his challenge. This produced the letter signed Junius, in your paper one day last week; in which, to speak negatively, he neither supports the truth of his narrative, or the justice of his observations, and

in which to speak positively, he gives up both. Not fairly, nor with the candor of a gentleman, who is convinced of his rash and dangerous mistake; but with the struggles and evasions of a culprit who is convicted of a crime."

"It was, to be sure, the height of insolence in Modestus to attack the favorite of the public; but it may be pleaded in his excuse, that the public has several favorites who are shrewdly suspected of being unworthy of its favor, and Junius has staked and forfeited that favor of which he had much reason to be proud. But pray, Mr. X. X., have not you been guilty of a trifling error by substituting the public in place of the mob?" &c. "Y. Y."

Modestus seemed to understand the arts of Junius, as appears by the following commencement of a letter which he addressed to him:

FOR THE PUBLIC ADVERTISER.

26 November, 1769.

To Junius.

"Sir,—Though you may choose to vent your illiberal resentment under the borrowed signature of X. X., I, who think scurrility no disgrace to your real name, shall not affect to make a distinction where there is no difference. For the same reason I do not plead that Junius having given the challenge, I am not bound to enter the lists against any other. It is a peculiar advantage in this sort of warfare, that when a man is routed in his own person, he can still keep the field under another; and you in particular have a right to the device, *non vultus non color unus.*

After giving up the question as Junius, you come back upon it as X. X. It would be a labor indeed to answer you the same questions in every form you are pleased to assume. But for once I will take the trouble to repeat what I have already said, not from any merit or novelty in your questions, but to leave you without excuse." &c. MODESTUS."

I will give one more example of the artifice of Junius in abusing himself, and making weak, insidious defences for his adversaries.

In his Letters, No. 34, he thus addresses the duke of Grafton:

12 Dec. 1769.

"My lord,—I find with some surprise, that you are not supported as you deserve. Your most determined advocates have scruples about them, which *you* are unacquainted with: and, though there be nothing too hazardous for your grace to engage in, there are some things too infamous for the vilest prostitute of a newspaper to defend.* In what other manner shall we account for the profound, submissive silence, which you and your friends have observed upon a charge, which called immediately for the clearest refutation, and would have justified the severest measures of resentment? I did not attempt to blast your character by an indirect, ambiguous insinuation, but candidly stated to you a plain fact, which struck directly at the integrity of a privy counsellor, of a first commissioner of the treasury, and of a leading minister, who is supposed to enjoy the first share in his majesty's confidence.† In every one of these capacities I employed the most moderate terms to charge you with treachery to your sovereign, and breach of trust in your office. I accused you of having *sold*, or permitted to be *sold*, a patent place in the collection of the customs at Exeter, to one Mr. Hine, who, unable or unwilling to deposit all the purchase-money himself, raised part of it by contribution, and has now a certain Doctor Brooke quartered upon the salary for one hundred pounds a year.—No sale by the candle was ever conducted with greater formality.—I affirm that the price at which the place was knocked down (and which, I have good reason to think, was not less than three thousand five hundred

* From the preceding to this date, not one word was said in defence of the infamous duke of Grafton. But vice and impudence soon recovered themselves, and the sale of the royal favor was openly avowed and defended. We acknowledge the piety of St. James's; but what is become of his morality?

† And by the same means preserve it to this hour.

pounds) was, with your connivance and consent, paid to colonel Burgoyne, to reward him, I presume, for the decency of his deportment at Preston:* or to reimburse him, perhaps, for the fine of one thousand pounds, which, for that very deportment, the court of King's Bench thought proper to set upon him.—It is not often that the chief justice and the prime minister are so strangely at variance in their opinions of men and things."

To the foregoing Mr. Woodfall subjoins the following letter and remarks in a note:

"The friends of the duke chiefly attempted to shelter him under a denial that this transaction was done with his connivance or consent. The following is a letter upon this subject, in answer to the charge of Junius, inserted in the Public Advertiser, Dec. 14, 1769.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

Sir,—The infamous traduction of that libeller Junius, his daring falsehoods, and gross misrepresentations, excite in me the utmost abhorrence and contempt, and I hope all his deadly poisons will be sheathed in the natural antidote every good mind has to malevolent and bitter invective. What act of delinquency has the duke of Grafton committed, by colonel Burgoyne disposing of a patent obtained of his grace? Will Junius dare to assert it was with the duke's privity, or for his emolument? Let us state the fact, and disarm the assassin at once. A place in the custom-house at Exeter becomes vacant—colonel Burgoyne asks it of the duke of Grafton—he gives it.—The colonel says I cannot hold it myself: will you give it my

* Colonel, afterwards general Burgoyne, was commissioned by administration to offer himself as a candidate, upon a parliamentary vacancy in the borough of Preston. During the contest that ensued, he suffered his partisans to commit the most disgraceful excesses; and having squandered not less than ten thousand pounds, without success at last, he was, upon the close of the election, prosecuted for his riot, and fined, as stated in the text.—*Ed.*

friend!—The duke consents—the colonel nominates—the duke appoints:—but, says Junius, the colonel set it up to sale, and actually received a sum of money for it. Be it so—he took a gross sum for what was given him as an annual income; and who is injured by this? If the duke of Grafton sold it, he is impeachable; if he gave it to be sold, he is blameable; but if his grace did neither, which is the fact,* he is basely belied, and most impudently and wickedly vilified. I am, sir, your best friend, JUSTICE.

Dec. 12.

Junius, nevertheless, completely accomplished his object; the noble duke not choosing to persevere in this prosecution of Vaughan, with the prospect of a counter accusation."

Although Mr. Woodfall does not designate the letter signed Justice as written by Junius, there is an internal evidence of the fact. It bears the same date as the letter of Junius to the duke of Grafton, although printed two days afterwards, and there can be no doubt accompanied it. The manner of making the defence, and the subscription, *your best friend*, are conclusive in the case. Besides "not one word was said in defence of the duke of Grafton:" and Junius, as in the case of lord Hillsborough, was determined to have an opponent.

Thus it appears that Junius, in his concealed character, was in the habit of abusing himself to answer certain purposes; and it is not unreasonable to suppose that Horne pursued the same course in respect to himself personally. The advantages to be obtained by this mode of warfare are easily appreciated. The refutation of weak arguments put into the mouth of an adversary is readily effected; which was precisely the case in Horne's dispute with Junius. This fact should not be lost sight of in this discussion. The perfect indifference and contempt shown

* The writer had before virtually admitted the contrary, and therefore this hardy assertion was designed for no effect. He intended the charge should be believed, but as a faint show of defence, denies, what all the circumstances go to prove, that the transaction took place with the knowledge and consent of the duke.—*Am. Edit.*

by Mr. Horne for personal abuse of himself, tend to corroborate this supposition. This indifference is exemplified in the following extracts from Stephen's Memoirs.

"Mr. Horne Tooke evinced not merely a manly fortitude, while exposed to the puny attempts of anonymous enemies, but a degree of scorn and contempt at their efforts, which I never before or since witnessed in any other man. He constantly obtained all the caricatures published relative to himself or his friends, and immediately hung them up in the apartment where he received his company, so as to be exposed to the gaze of all his visitors. One of the first times I ever saw Sir Francis Burdett in his house, he invited him to hear a satire composed for the express purpose of vilifying both. Our host then sat down, and read aloud the most aggravating passages against them, coolly commenting on the poetry, and examining the merits of the production, which he had now seen for the first time, with a clear, calm, and unruffled brow, as if wholly unconcerned as to the event. When any of the lines proved feeble or impotent, he tried both to mend the versification and point the irony: and if a passage was written with more than ordinary ability, he was sure to recite it twice, and that too, in such a manner, as to produce additional effect, by means of appropriate emphasis and intonation.

Of his equability of temper, another remarkable instance was afforded, on a public and memorable occasion. Having differed with the whigs, both as to the time and manner of opposing Mr. Pitt's administration, and accused their own party of meanness, corruption, and love of place, he of course became odious to them. In 1793, when they and their adherents had assembled in large numbers at the London Tavern, for the purpose of voting certain resolutions indicative of their opinions, Mr. Horne Tooke attended the public summons, and on addressing himself to an unwilling audience, craved permission to be heard. Finding his opponents disinclined to listen to him, he got upon a table, which, in consequence of the zeal of his friends to support him, and the earnest desire of his enemies to crowd around, and drown his voice with their clamours, soon broke down by the pressure of the contending multitude. Less intent on his

personal preservation, than on the triumph of his opinions, he stood erect, amidst the crash around him, and on descending to the ground with a glass full of wine, which he had held steadily in his hand during the catastrophe, immediately drank it off, and taking advantage of the wonder and surprise of his adversaries, commenced and concluded a speech of considerable length, with exactly the same ease as if nothing had occurred.

It has already been observed, that he was once termed, in reproach, 'the lack-laughter parson:' and the same observation has been made of Pericles, more than two thousand years ago, in whom it was accounted a perfection, that he but rarely relaxed his features beyond a smile. He possessed another property of that great Athenian, which it is more difficult to defend; for like him, he was not unfrequently supercilious in conversation, and sometimes both in his writings and his discourse exhibited a considerable degree of contempt for the opinions of other men.

His temperament, too, was naturally choleric, and his blood was not exactly composed of 'snow broth;' but this very circumstance constituted his chief merit, for he had learned to govern his passions, and at length succeeded to such a degree, as either to affect or possess such a portion of equanimity, in ordinary occasions, as would have done credit to the stoics of old.

Mr. Holcroft, who, towards the latter part of his life, is said to have experienced many crosses, vexations, and disappointments, happening to be one day at Wimbledon, found himself suddenly assailed by his host, who seemed disposed to empty the whole quiver of his ridicule on the head of the unfortunate guest. Irritated beyond endurance at this conduct, the latter got up, and clenching his fist, exclaimed, in a paroxysm of rage, 'I am sorry, sir, to say to a gentleman in his own house, what I now tell you, that you are the greatest rascal in the world." Mr. Horne Tooke, who by this time began to recollect himself, thinking that he had carried the joke too far, and imagining, at the same time also, perhaps, that this act of vengeance was a legitimate return for his recent conduct; without altering a single muscle of his face, turned round, and calmly addressing

his acquaintance, said, 'Is it Friday or Saturday next, that I am to dine with you?

'Saturday, sir.'

'Then you may depend on it, that I shall be there at the hour appointed!'

I remarked in his back-parlour, the *caricature* of himself in the character of the Old Man of the Mountain, carrying Sinbad (Sir Francis Burdett) on his back to destruction.

A person who had written for years against him in a certain newspaper, at last felt, or affected to feel, a full conviction of the injustice he had committed, and actually repaired to Wimbledon for the express purpose of making the *amende honorable*: but he was coolly received by the philologist, who observed, 'that he possessed no spleen whatever against him, and he was welcome to proceed exactly as before, if it could be of any service to his interests.'

He thought, perhaps, with a great orator of antiquity, "that groundless opinions are destroyed, and rational judgments confirmed by time."*

Mr. Horne said himself upon the hustings, when canvassing for votes for a seat in parliament, "I beg only to assure you, that no man alive feels the insults of enemies less, or the kindness of friends more."

REMARKS ON THE

LETTER TO THE DUKE OF BEDFORD.

The coincidence of circumstances attending this case are as remarkable as those connected with the letter of Junius to lord Mansfield before noticed. Such a concatenation of events could not be the effect of chance.

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* Opinionum commenta delet dies. Naturæ judicia confirmat. *Cic. de Nat. Deor.* l. ii.

On the fourth of Sept. 1769, Mr. Horne, with many others, was proposed to be made a freeman of the borough of Bedford. Upon which occasion, the duke of Bedford was pleased to express himself with great indignity towards Mr. Horne in particular; a detailed account of which will appear in the course of these remarks.

Eleven days after this occurrence, Junius transmits a note to Mr. Woodfall, announcing a letter to the duke of Bedford as follows:

[*Private.*] Friday night, Sept. 15, 1768.

"Sir,—I BEG you will to-morrow advertise *Junius to another duke in our next.* If Monday's paper be engaged, then let it be for Tuesday, but not advertised till Monday. You shall have it sometime to-morrow night. It cannot be corrected and copied sooner. I mean to make it *worth printing.* Yours. C."

The letter to the duke was published Sept. 19. On the 5th of Oct. Junius writes to Mr. Woodfall as follows:

"As to *you*, it is clearly my opinion, that you have nothing to fear from the duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the house of lords.—I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm, as would make him tremble even in his grave."

Were there no other test to prove the identity of Junius than the evidence exhibited in the single letter to the duke of Bedford, it would to my mind be amply sufficient. There was no political or public cause whatever for this vindictive attack. It arose wholly from a personal insult offered to the author by the duke.

The second sentence of the letter, is, "You have *nice feelings*, my lord, if we may judge from *your resentments.*" What resentments? None are mentioned as having been exhibited by the duke of Bedford in the whole course of the letter, to which Junius could with propriety be supposed to allude, except the resentments shown by the duke towards Mr. Horne, at the election at Bedford.

Junius in the commencement of his address gives a pompous moral discourse on the character which ought, in his opinion, to

constitute the distinguishing traits of a nobleman of fortune. Without advancing direct charges against the duke, he cunningly insinuates that he is guilty of the vices which the finished character he describes would avoid. Among the rest, the following:

"He would not have thought it consistent with his rank in the state, or even with his personal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation. He would never have been insulted with virtues which he had labored to extinguish; nor suffered the disgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ridiculous and contemptible even to the few by whom he was not detested."

To this passage a note is annexed after the word corporation, in the author's edition, first published March 3, 1772. It did not appear with the letter when first printed in the Public Advertiser in 1769. The transaction was then fresh in the minds of the people of Bedford, and such a note might have led to suspicion as to the writer. But after the affair had gone on smoothly thus long, and no whispers had been heard that Mr. Horne was the author, he ventures to give his grace a hint of his conduct upon that occasion. I come at this fact by an examination of Wheble's edition of 1770, of the letters which had then appeared. In which neither this note nor any other is attached to the letter addressed to the duke of Bedford. The note is as follows:

"Of Bedford, where the tyrant was held in such contempt and detestation, that in order to deliver themselves from him, they admitted a great number of strangers to the freedom. To make his defeat truly ridiculous, he tried his whole strength against Mr. *Horne*, and was beaten upon his own ground." *Author.*

A particular explanation of this affair is added to the above note in the edition of 1812, prepared by the author. Although this addition purports to be from the editor, it was, undoubtedly written by Junius. Because, it is not probable

that the former would have taken the trouble to examine the records of the town of Bedford to come at the particulars of a transaction, of more than forty-two years standing, which was of so little consequence to be known to the public. The additional note is as follows:

"This contest took place Sept. 4th, 1765, on the election of mayor, bailiffs, and chamberlains for the borough of Bedford. His grace having in vain objected to the making of any new freemen, at length prevailed on the corporation to allow some of his own particular friends to be put in nomination, when about twenty of them were made accordingly. The names of the freemen proposed to be elected on the popular side of the question, were then read, and were heard with profound silence by his grace, till the name of *John Horne* was pronounced, when the duke expressed himself with great bitterness towards that gentleman in particular; the corporation however divided upon the point, and Mr. Horne was elected, there being seventeen votes in his favor and eleven against him. The candidates for the office of mayor were on the popular side Mr. Cawne, and on the part of the duke of Bedford, Mr. Richards, the former of whom was elected by 158 votes against 26. The triumph over his grace was of course complete."

The triumph over the duke was in electing the town officers against his wishes. How his defeat was rendered *truly ridiculous*, by Mr. Horne's being made a freeman of the borough, although the duke opposed it, it is difficult to conceive. There is a slur attempted to be cast upon Mr. Horne in the remark, which appears evidently intended to ward off any suspicion that might arise of his being the author of the letter.

In this transaction we find a purse-proud nobleman treating with contumely a man probably far his superior in every thing that goes to dignify the human character. Men in common spheres of life and of common abilities, shopmen, mechanics, &c. were, no doubt, admitted upon this occasion to the freedom of the borough. But when the name of *John Horne*, a man of

the first education and talents, a clergyman in regular orders, was pronounced, the noble duke raised his crest in defiance. His ire probably arose from Mr. Horne's having taken an active part in politics; and perhaps, in some cases, against the views and wishes of his grace: and he may have been offended that a parson should pretend to know as much upon this subject as noble dukes, who make a trade of it. Be this as it may, the duke in this instance got hold of the wrong person to be treated with disrespect.

Junius, a little after this affair at Bedford, in letter No. 36, addressed to the duke of Grafton, expresses his sentiments as follows:

"Injuries may be atoned for and forgiven, but insults admit of no compensation. They degrade the mind in its own esteem, and force it to recover its level by revenge."

I am inclined to believe that when the author wrote this passage, he had the duke of Bedford in his mind; and, if my view of the subject be correct, he has, in the case before us, acted in perfect conformity to his principles. For, on the 15th of Sept. eleven days after the insult given at Bedford, he had prepared a retort which for violence and vindicative feeling stands unrivalled among his most bitter vituperations.

It requires only to read this letter with attention to be convinced that there was no political cause for such a philippic. The duke held no office at the time, and therefore no measures of the government could be charged to his account. But, in default of any present cause of complaint, Junius goes back to the treaty of peace with France and Spain negoitated by the duke of Bedford in Feb. 1763, more than six years before, and insinuates that the duke was bribed to make that treaty—that it was not as favorable to England as it ought and might have been.—By this treaty England obtained all Canada, Florida, and Louisiana, enough, in all conscience, to satisfy any reasonable subject of Great Britain. The very circumstance of this old treaty being made the ground-work of this rodomontade is

a convincing proof that the real cause of attack was different from what appears upon the face of the record.

In addition to the crime of making this disadvantageous treaty, Junius, it seems, ransacked the town of Bedford for anecdotes militating against the private character of the duke—his domestic affairs are exposed—all the tittle-tattle of his neighbors (who no doubt hated him for his pride and arrogance) is arrayed against him. That this was the course taken by Junius, is evident from a remark in his answer to a vindication of the duke of Bedford by Sir William Draper, as follows: "Against whom then will his (Sir. W. D's.) honest indignation be directed, when I assure him, that this *whole* town beheld the duke of Bedford's conduct, upon the death of his son, with horror and astonishment." There was no doubt much exaggeration, if not absolute falsehoods in the anecdotes raked up against the duke upon this occasion. Among the rest, the story related in a note annexed to letter No. 29, which is probably alluded to by Junius in his note to Woodfall, Oct. 5th.

In fact, this letter may with propriety be entitled, *much ado about nothing*. There was no tenable ground to be taken in the case; and be the private motives of Junius ever so plausible, as a public writer, no justification can be made for it. He was more severely handled, and had greater difficulty to vindicate himself from the retorts made upon him on this occasion, than in any other attack *seriously* made by him.

Junius, in his hurry to accuse the duke of Bedford, has stated a number of *false facts*, which are corrected by Mr. Almon in his edition of the letters. I shall give a copy of these, as they tend to show the character of the letter such as I have represented it,—that the charges it contained were made at random, and that there was no political cause upon which to found the abuse, but that it proceeded from private motives of revenge.

"After outraging the royal dignity (says Junius) with peremptory conditions, little short of menace and hostility, he would never descend to the humility of soliciting an interview with the

favorite, and of offering to recover, at any price, the honor of his friendship."

On the above Junius makes the following note: "At this interview, which passed at the house of the late lord Eglintoun, lord Bute told the duke that he was determined never to have any connection with a man who had so basely betrayed him."

"Only so much of the above note is correct, (says Mr. Almon) as states that there was a meeting at lord Eglintoun's. This important fact may be stated very briefly. When the repeal of the American stamp-act was in agitation, the court were anxious to prevent that measure, and lord Bute was commanded to form a party for the purpose. He applied to lord Eglintoun, to obtain a meeting, at that nobleman's house, of the duke of Bedford, earl Temple, and Mr. Grenville. Lord Temple would not go, but the duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville attended. The conference was very short, and no terms of reproach were used by any of the parties; lord Bute heard them, and made no reply, but immediately went away. Some time afterwards, on Mr. Pitt's mentioning this affair in the house of commons, Mr. Grenville did not deny it; but said, 'the only proposition made, or point spoken of, was relative to the best means of preventing the intended repeal of the American stamp-act: no other subject was introduced.'"

With regard to the assault committed on the duke, which Junius makes so much of, attributing it to a Mr. Heston Humphrey, as though it was a disgrace to a gentleman to be assaulted by a ruffian, Mr. Almon says, "According to the Common's journals of the year 1748, it was a Mr. Toll, dancing master at Litchfield, who thus insulted the duke of Bedford; but on acknowledging his offence, and making humble submission, he received only a trifling sentence in Westminster-hall."

In the private letters of Junius to Woodfall, the reader will observe, that he makes the most particular inquiry in respect to the time at which this transaction, so unworthy of notice, took place: which appears to have been twenty-one years

before. Was he instigated in this case by a zeal to serve his country, or to gratify revenge?

Junius states in a note that, "when earl Gower was appointed president of the council, the king with his *usual* sincerity, assured him that he had not had one happy moment since the duke of Bedford left him."

Mr. Almon says, "It was of Mr. Grenville that his majesty said these words: which were spoken to lord Suffolk, when that nobleman was appointed secretary of state, in the month of June, 1771. Lord Suffolk was the particular friend of that gentleman, who died in the month of November, 1770; and these words were spoken to his lordship in condolence for the loss of his friend. They could not be spoken of the duke of Bedford: because his grace had treated his majesty so rudely that the king never forgave it."

From the instances above noticed of erroneous statements, it will be readily perceived that little reliance can be placed upon declarations made by Junius in this letter. He must have been hard pushed for subjects of censure when he abuses the duke for incivility to the king: except he considered it an encroachment upon his own prerogative.

Mr. Woodfall, in a note at the introduction of the letter to the duke of Bedford, makes an incorrect statement, probably intended to render the attack upon him more excusable in a political point of view, as well as to justify some false allusions of Junius himself to the same effect.

It is as follows: in 1766, it seems, some difficulty occurred in forming a ministry, and after several fruitless attempts, it is stated that, "Lord Chatham was next applied to, who consented to take the lead, provided he was allowed the nomination of his own friends into certain offices he should designate; and this being granted, to strengthen his own hands, he re-introduced the duke of Bedford, along with his grace of Grafton:—and on his own resignation, he left them both in the respective offices they filled at the time of the address of the present letter to the former of these noblemen."

On examining Bissett's and Miller's histories of that period, I find that the duke was not in the administration, nor held any

office at the time alluded to. And I also observe that Mr. Woodfall, a little after making the assertion, admits a contrary statement into his own book; which I shall insert. Mr. Heron says expressly, that lord Chatham "sought the friendship of the duke of Bedford; and the duke with his friends were not unwilling to serve under him. But the king had not yet pardoned the duke's former insolence; and lord Chatham was thus hindered from fulfilling the engagements he had privately made with the duke."

I shall now show, by extracts from notes annexed to Woodfall's Junius, that the treaty of peace negotiated by the duke of Bedford, was not only very advantageous to the interests of England, but ably and faithfully conducted on his part.

The following is taken from a note to Miscellaneous Letters. No. 53, containing a sketch of the character of Mr. George Grenville, and is extracted from the second volume of Knox's extra official state papers.

"While the peace was negotiating, the expedition against the Havannah was carrying on, and as the chance of its success or failure was not very unequal, the negotiators agreed to leave it out in their *uti possidetis*, considering the event as perfectly neutral: so that if after the preliminaries were signed, it was found to be taken, it was to be restored without compensation. Before the preliminaries were signed, however, the account of its capture was received, and Mr. Grenville immediately proposed that it should now be included in the *uti possidetis*, and compensation for it insisted upon, for as the event was decided before the preliminaries were signed, either party was at liberty to avail themselves of it. Lord Bute thought the treaty was too far advanced to make any advantage of the event being in our favor, and he feared that our making any fresh demand, would not only protract but break off the negotiation, and prevent the peace taking place immediately, which he thought so necessary for the nation. Mr. Grenville was clear in his opinion of our right to make the demand, and firm in insisting that it should be made, and proposed two alternatives for consideration. The one, that if we judged it best to get the entire possession

the continent of North America, France having already agreed to cede all Canada, that we should insist upon Florida and Louisiana: the other, that if we thought it necessary to increase our possessions in the West Indies, beyond the three neutral islands, which France had also agreed to give us, we should ask Porto Rico, and the property of what we held upon the Spanish Main; and he left the earl with declaring that he would resign the seals, if one of those alternatives was not adopted and insisted upon. After consulting with Mr. Fox and lord Egremont, lord Bute agreed to make the demand of Florida and Louisiana, and instructions to that purpose were immediately dispatched to the duke of Bedford, who made so able and strenuous an application in consequence of them, that the duke de Choiseul not only consented to cede Louisiana, but obliged the Spanish minister to cede Florida also, without sending to his court for fresh orders, and the preliminaries were not delayed more than a fortnight by the demand and acquisition of that immense territory."

To the following passage in the letter to the duke, Mr. Woodfall subjoins the note here inserted.

"Your history begins to be important at that auspicious period, at which you were deputed to represent the earl of Bute at the court of Versailles. It was an honorable office, and executed with the same spirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambassador, who would submit to make concessions, without daring to insist upon any honorable condition for his sovereign."*

* "Soon after the death of the duke of Bedford the following paragraph was inserted in the Public Advertiser, and as it remained uncontradicted, there is some reason to believe it authentic. As the duke in this letter is arraigned in the most severe terms for the concessions made in negotiating the peace of 1763, it is but justice to his grace, that a circumstance so honorable should be more generally known. The paragraph runs thus:

"The following anecdote of the late duke of Bedford may be depended upon as fact.——When his grace negotiated the late peace at Paris, he signed the

Mr. Woodfall, after taking notice of two letters written in defence of the duke of Bedford, observes:

"A much abler reply to Junius's severe attack upon his grace was afterwards introduced into the Public Advertiser in a letter to Junius subscribed M. Tullius, dated Dec. 8. from which the editor feels bound, on the score of impartiality, to make the following extract:

"In these strictures I have principally in view the treatment which Junius, in two publications, has thought proper to offer to the duke of Bedford. His animadversions on this nobleman, are intended to reflect both on his public and private character. With regard to the first of these, nothing of consequence is urged besides his grace's conduct as ambassador at the court of Versailles in the making of the late peace. I mean not to enter

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preliminaries with the French minister Choiseul, and stipulated no farther for the possessions of the East India Company than he was advised to stipulate by the court of directors. A gentleman (a Dutch Jew of great abilities and character) hearing this, wrote a letter to the duke of Bedford informing him that the English East India Company had materially neglected their own interest, as their chief conquests were made subsequent to the period at which they had fixed their claim of sovereignty; and if these latter conquests were to be restored, an immense annual revenue would necessarily be taken from England. The duke, struck with the force of the fact, yet embarrassed how to act, as preliminaries were really signed, repaired to Choiseul at Versailles, and addressed him thus:—'My lord, I have committed a great mistake in signing the preliminaries, as the affair of the India possessions must be carried down to our last conquest in Asia.' To this Choiseul replied, 'Your grace astonishes me; I thought I had been treating with the minister of a great nation, and not with a student in politics, who does not consider the validity of written engagements.' 'Your reproach, my lord, is just,' returned the duke, 'but I will not add treachery to negligence, nor betray my country deliberately, because I have overlooked her interest unaccountably in a single circumstance; therefore, unless your lordship agrees to cede the latter conquests in India, I shall return home in twelve hours, and submit the fate of my head to the discretion of an English parliament.' Choiseul, staggered at the duke's intrepidity, complied; and this country now enjoys above half a million annually through the firmness of a man, whom it is even patriotism at present to calumniate, but whose virtues have never yet received justice from the community. On the termination of the affair to his satisfaction, he gave his informant, the Dutch gentleman, the warmest recommendations to England, who accordingly came over, and receives at this moment a pension of 500*l.* a year from the India Company as a reward for his services."

here into the merits or demerits of that important transaction. —Thus much is known to all, the riches of the nation were at that time well nigh exhausted, public credit was on the brink of ruin, the national debt increased to such an enormous height as to threaten us with a sudden and universal crush; and whatever be said of the concessions that were made to bring that memorable event to bear, Canada among other instances, will ever remain a glorious monument; the interests of this kingdom were not forgotten in that negotiation. But Junius, hackneyed in the tricks of controversy, where a man's open and avowed actions are innocent, has the art to hint at secret terms and private compensations: and though he is compelled by the force of truth to own 'no document of any treasonable practice is to be found,' we are given plainly to understand so many public sacrifices were not made at that period without a valuable consideration, and that in practice there is very little difference in the ceremony of offering a bribe, and of that duke's accepting it. To a charge that is alleged, not only without proof, but even with a confession that no proof is to be expected, no answer is to be returned but that of a contemptuous silence. When a writer takes upon him to attack the character of a nobleman of the highest rank, and in a matter of so capital a nature as that of selling his country for a bribe, common policy, as well as prudence, require that an accusation of such importance be supported with at least some show of evidence, and that even this be not done but with the utmost moderation of temper and expression: but so sober a conduct would have been beside the purpose of Junius, whose business it was not to reason, but to rail. The Roman rhetorician, among the other arts of oratory, mentions one, which he dignifies with the title of a 'Canine eloquence,' that of filling up the empty places of an argument with railings, *convitiis implere vacua causarum.* In the knowledge of this rule Junius is without a rival: and the present instance, among a thousand others, is a convincing testimony of his dexterity in the application of it.

"But here it will be said, it is not from circumstance and conjecture alone that this charge against the duke of Bedford is founded: the general character of every one takes its color

and complexion from that quality in him which predominates, and the allowed avarice of the man affords an evidence not to be resisted of the rapacity of the ambassador: and is it then so incontestable a point that the duke is indeed the sordid man which Junius has delineated! are there no instances to be produced that denote a contrary disposition? one would think if a vicious thirst of gain had borne so large a share, as is pretended in his grace's composition, this would have discovered itself in the pecuniary emoluments he had secured for himself when he engaged in a share of government. But what advantages of this kind has he obtained; or to what bargains with the minister does Junius allude, when he knows, that his grace, though willing to assist the friends of administration with his interest and weight, has not accepted any department either of power or profit? had Junius and *candor* not shaken hands, this circumstance alone would have afforded him an evidence beyond all the legal proofs of a court of justice, of the iniquity of his own insinuations.* But we are not at a loss for other instances, and those no ordinary ones, of the duke's munificence. To what principle shall we attribute the payment of his elder brother's debts to the amount of not much less than one hundred thousand pounds? the splendid provision he made for his unfortunate son; and afterwards for that son's more unfortunate widow? what shall we say to his known attachments to the interests of his friends, his kindness to his domestics, and annual bounty to those who have served him faithfully? his indulgence to his dependants? or what are, if these be not, equivocal proofs of genuine liberality and benevolence?"

Before adverting to the correspondence of Junius and Horne, I will show that the language and opinions maintained in both characters in respect to Wilkes throughout his career as a political champion, were uniformly the same.

* Junius, when it would answer his purpose, restricted himself to insinuations: but Mr. Woodfall, less cautious, makes a positive assertion contrary to what is here declared to be the fact. For the sake of consistency, he ought either to have corrected the error, or denied the truth of the statement here made and published by himself.

On the supposition of Horne's being Junius, some may perhaps conceive that there is an apparent inconsistency of conduct irreconcilable with those principles of honor and morality which his friends claim for him. But when the real character of Wilkes is taken into consideration—that, as an unprincipled demagogue, he might do much mischief if not restrained—and that, although he might be made use of as an instrument to oppose the government, it was necessary to check his unbounded ambition, and prevent his obtaining an undue influence.

Besides, the same objection would hold against any other person, as Junius, as well as against Horne. Junius supported Wilkes as far as his cause was connected with the public interest, and no farther, and Horne did the same. Which ever way the question is viewed, it ultimately turns upon the same pivot.

That Mr. Horne was pre-eminently vindictive towards those who had done him a personal injury, as well as towards his political adversaries, will not be denied: *Nemo me lacessit impune*, was the proper armorial for his escutcheon. He had reason to despise and hate Mr. Wilkes for his treachery in exposing his private letter, which did him an irreparable injury; and he was determined on revenge. The dishonorable conduct of Wilkes in respect to the Middlesex election moreover added to his disgust. In conversation with him on this subject, he said, "It is you who treat me ill. I am not duped, sir; and I desire I may at least have the honor of doing what I do with my eyes open. The *die is cast*: if I had not thought that all was at stake, on the success of your election, I should not have come forward at all; and having once begun it, *nothing shall stop me*."

Having fulfilled his object, a good opportunity presented to lash both the administration and Wilkes, which was not neglected. After this, we hear no more of Horne's support of Wilkes at future elections.

When pushing forward Wilkes upon this occasion, he must have felt towards him very much as Iago did towards Roderigo:

> "Now, whether he kill Cassio,
> Or Cassio him, or each do kill the other,
> Every way makes my gain."

That is, as applied to Horne, operates for the benefit of the public cause.

The description of the Middlesex election given in the two following letters, was evidently written by a spectator, "a part of which he was and all of which he saw." As to the little slur thrown out against those who had supported Wilkes, it was in character of Junius, and necessary to ward off suspicion from the author.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

5 April, 1768.

Vivit? imò verò etiam in senatum venit: fit publici consilii particeps: notat, et limis designat oculis ad cædem unumquemque nostrûm.*

"Sir,—The return of Mr. Wilkes to England, and the measures he has since pursued, have given the servants of the crown an opportunity of acting in a manner so becoming themselves, that it would be ingratitude not to take notice of their extraordinary merits upon this occasion. Our gracious sovereign undoubtedly thinks himself highly indebted to his ministers for their uncommon care of his honor and dignity, as well as for their attention to the security of his house, family, and sacred person; and I may venture to assure them that the public in general have a just sense of the vigor and spirit with which they have administered the laws, and with which the peaceable part of his Majesty's subjects have been protected. What sort of thanks they will receive from their sovereign, I cannot tell, but, as far as my weak endeavors can reach, the nation shall not remain unapprised of the extent and species of our obligations to them.

A man of a most infamous character in private life is indicted for a libel against the king's person, solemnly tried by his peers according to the laws of the land, and found guilty.† To avoid

* Does he live? more, he even comes into the senate; he participates in the public councils: notes, and designates with malignant eye each one of us to slaughter.

† Here Mr. Woodfall endeavors, in a note, to reconcile the conduct of Junius in this case, but evidently under great embarrassment. The amount of what he

the sentence due to his crime, he flies to a foreign country, and failing to surrender himself to justice, is outlawed. By this outlawry he loses all claim to the protection of those magistrates, and of those laws, to which, by his evasion, he had refused to be amenable. After some years spent abroad, this man returns to England with as little fear of the laws, which he had violated, as of respect for the great person whom he had wantonly and treasonably attacked. Without a single qualification either moral or political, and under the greatest disability, this man presumes so far upon the protection of the populace, as to offer himself a candidate to represent the metropolis of the kingdom. Disappointed in this attempt, notwithstanding all the efforts and violence of the rabble, he has still the confidence to offer himself to the freeholders of Middlesex as a proper person to represent a county, in which he has not a single foot of land;* and to complete the whole, we see a man overwhelmed with debts, a convict and an outlaw, returned to serve in the British parliament as knight of a shire. These, sir, are the main facts of Mr. Wilkes's case. The circumstances with which they were attended are no less atrocious. We saw the other candidates, gentlemen of large fortune, and of the most respectable characters, dragged from their carriages, and hardly escaping with life out of the hands of Mr. Wilkes's friends and companions.†

says, is, that "In the present instance, Wilkes is only adverted to as an instrument of attack upon an administration which Junius abominated." But that he afterwards "found that he could support this attack better by enlisting gentlemen in his favor that in opposition to him." Mr. Woodfall must have calculated on easy, good natured readers, who would take, on trust, every thing he might choose to palm upon them.—*Am. Ed.*

* Mr. Horne, as a resident of that county, had good opportunity to know this fact.

† At a subsequent election, in 1769, Mr. Luttrell, afterwards lord Irnham, became a candidate for the county of Middlesex, in opposition to Mr. Wilkes. "On this occasion," (says Stephens, in his Memoirs of Mr. Horne) "although he only polled 296 freeholders in opposition to 1143, on the part of the popular candidate, yet the house of commons negatived the return of the sheriffs; and by a new vote, April 14, not only resolved as before, 'that the election of John Wilkes, esq. was void,' but added, 'that the honorable Henry Lewes Luttrell,

If the candidates were treated in this manner, you may imagine what sort of reception their friends met with in attempting to poll for them. The fact is, that great numbers were driven back by main force, or deterred by the threats of the populace; so that not a third part of the friends of sir William Proctor and Mr. Cooke were ever permitted to approach the hustings. The conclusion of Monday and Tuesday night was perfectly consistent with the whole proceedings of the day. I need not enlarge upon this detestable scene, since there is hardly a family in London or Westminster which has not had reason to remember the day of Mr. Wilkes's election. The metropolis of the kingdom, the seat of justice, and the residence of the sovereign, and of the royal family, was left, for two nights together, at the mercy of a licentious, drunken rabble, without the smallest guard, either civil or military, to secure the king's person, or to protect his subjects. Amidst all the horror and outrage of these transactions, is there one Englishman endowed with the smallest portion of reason or humanity, who can hear without grief and resentment, that even in some of the royal palaces, to avoid worse consequences, illuminations were made to celebrate the success of a ——, who, after heaping every possible insult on the person of his sovereign, returns in triumph to brave and outrage him again, even in the palace of his immediate residence!

Such was the scene, of which all the inhabitants of London and Westminster were witnesses to their cost. Let us now inquire what has been the conduct of the ministry during the course of it. Long before Mr. Wilkes appeared at Guildhall, it was well known that he was in London; and if any measures

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ought to have been returned, and now is duly elected a knight of the shire for the county of Middlesex.'

"On this, the mob became furious against Mr. Luttrell, and had it not been for the personal interposition of Mr. Horne, that gentleman would have fallen a victim to their resentment; for it was he who rescued him from their clutches, and conducted him to a place of safety. This generous conduct must surely be allowed to have been worthy of applause; but such is the deadly enmity of political contests, that it rendered him, ever after, suspected by many of that party, and on a future occasion, was frequently quoted against him, as an indelible offence."—*Am. Ed.*

had been taken by the ministry to secure him in consequence of his outlawry, it might undoubtedly have been done with the greatest facility. Why no process was sued for out of the Court of King's Bench, let the ministers answer if they can. But they have much more to answer for. They are responsible for all the consequences of permitting this outlaw to appear at large, and for all the violences of which he has since been the author.

By their indolence and neglect, or perhaps in consequence of a secret compact with him, this man has been suffered to throw the metropolis into a flame, to offer new outrages to his sovereign, and at last to force his way into parliament, where, if he were a man of any parliamentary abilities, I doubt not but he would reward them as they deserve. In the midst of all this tumult and confusion, the chancellor of Great Britain* and the first lord of the treasury† retire out of town, and leave the whole executive power of the crown to fall to the ground. In the name of God and the laws, are such men fit to govern a great kingdom? To say that they are, is an insult to the common understanding of mankind, and I hope our gracious sovereign will do justice to himself and to his people, by depriving them of a power, which they have either not courage or not honesty enough to exert in his service. I am persuaded there is not a man of property, sense, or honor in this country, who is not ready, heart and hand, to support the constitution, and to defend the sovereign, though his own immediate servants have deserted him. We have hitherto taken no steps for our defence, because we expected the protection of government: but we are still strong enough to defend our lives and properties against Mr. Wilkes and his banditti, nor shall the treacherous example set us by the ministry ever induce us to abandon our own rights, or those of the chief magistrate. C."‡

* Lord Camden. † The duke of Grafton.

‡ The editor has already had occasion to observe in various places that C. was the signature adopted by Junius in his private correspondence with the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

To the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

5 April, 1768.

"Sir,—There is something so extraordinary in the conduct of the ministry, with respect to Mr. Wilkes, that I cannot help suspecting that they have a secret motive for it, which the public is not aware of. It is to me inconceivable that he should have been suffered to return to England, and remain at large, notwithstanding this outlawry;—to offer himself a candidate for the metropolis;—to appear the leader of violence and riot uncontrolled;—and at last to succeed in his enterprise at Brentford; unless all this had been done with the connivance and consent of the king's servants. My suspicions may perhaps be ill founded, but I think there is reason enough to apprehend that Mr. Wilkes would never have been permitted to go such lengths, if all were well between the ministry and the earl of Bute. They certainly have a design to terrify the Scotchman, and to keep him inorder, by producing their tribune once more upon the stage. Let the Thane look to himself! Mr. Wilkes being a man of no sort of consequence in his own person, can never be supported but by keeping up the cry, and this cry can no way be maintained but by renewing his attacks upon the Scotch favorite and his countrymen. With this key we may, perhaps, account for the supineness and indifference with which the ministry have seen the laws trampled on, and the public peace and tranquillity destroyed, by the respectable Mr. Wilkes. and his no less respectable friends. Yours,

Q IN THE CORNER."

Extract of a Letter addressed to the duke of Grafton.

April 10, 1769.

"I have frequently censured Mr. Wilkes's conduct, yet your advocate reproaches me with having devoted myself to the service of sedition. Your grace can best inform us for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you first honored him with your friendship, or how long it was before you discovered those bad ones in him, at which, it seems, your delicacy was offended

Remember, my lord, that you continued your connexion with Mr. Wilkes, long after he had been convicted of those crimes which you have since taken pains to represent in the blackest colors of blasphemy and treason.

But let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this, at least is certain; that circumstanced as he is, with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much discernment to suffer your grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to establish a precedent by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal ease and satisfaction, employ to the ruin of the best men in the kingdom. Content yourself, my lord, with the many advantages which the unsullied purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deserted friend. Avail yourself of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bless God that 'you are not as other men are; extortioners, unjust, adulterers, or even as this publican.' In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honor and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may safely indulge your genius. But the laws of England shall not be violated, even by your holy zeal to oppress a sinner;* and though you have succeeded in making him a tool, you shall not make him the victim of your ambition.

JUNIUS."†

Extract of a Letter to the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

April 12, 1769.

"Mr. Woodfall,—The monody on the supposed death of Junius is not the less poetical for being founded on a fiction. In some parts of it there is a promise of genius which deserves

* Upon this passage, Mr. Heron remarks, "This is one of those occasions, of too frequent recurrence, on which Junius discovers his acquaintance with the bible, and his want of reverence for it." Let it be remembered that Mr. Horne studied the bible professionally, and therefore must be supposed to be well acquainted with it. This circumstance, by the way, is not unworthy of consideration.

† Wilkes, when he read this defence of himself by his friend Junius, must have exclaimed, the Lord deliver me from my friends!

to be encouraged.* My letter of Monday† will, I hope, convince the author that I am neither a partizan of Mr. Wilkes, nor yet bought off by the ministry. It is true I have refused offers, which a more prudent or a more interested man would have accepted.‡ Whether it be simplicity or virtue in me I can only affirm that I *am in earnest;* because I am convinced, as far as my understanding is capable of judging, that the present ministry are driving this country to destruction; and you, I think, sir, may be satisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe. JUNIUS."

Extract of a Letter to the duke of Grafton.

April 24, 1769.

"My lord,—The system you seemed to have adopted, when lord Chatham unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promise of that uncommon exertion of vigor, which has

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* This monody is inserted in a note by Woodfall, and is a severe satire upon Junius. The manner he speaks of it agrees exactly with the representation given by Stephens of the treatment shown by Horne to similar productions aimed at himself.

† Dated April 10. From which the foregoing extract is taken.

‡ Mr. Horne "was promised (says Stephens) to be appointed one of the king's chaplains, and had a prospect of such other preferment as was sufficient to satisfy his wishes. In fine, a man so gifted and so favored might have aspired to all the honors of his profession; he might have enjoyed wealth and respect, and that learned ease so dear to a man of letters.—It was in vain that his brother-in-law (Dr. Demainbray) remonstrated against his imprudent conduct, and that all his friends whispered in his ear, that he was about to put an eternal bar to his future preferment."

Mr. Horne, in addressing the court on his trial, in 1777, for an alleged libel against the government, said, "He (the Attorney-general) has talked t your lordships of my patrons. I have had in my life, and early in my life, the greatest of patrons; ay, with all their power, greater than any that now hear me. I renounced my patrons, because I would not renounce my principles; repeatedly, over and over again, of different descriptions and in different situations."

"If popularity would offer itself to me, I would speedily take care to kick it away. As for ambition, and bodies of men, and parties, and societies, there is nothing of it in the case. There is no body of men with whom I can think, that I know of. There is no body of men with whom I am connected. Private friendships I have, like other men, but they are very few; however, that is recompense to me, for they are very worthy."

since illustrated your character, and distinguished your administration. Far from discovering a spirit bold enough to invade the first rights of the people, and the first principles of the constitution, you were scrupulous of exercising even those powers, with which the executive branch of the legislature is legally invested. We have not yet forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was suffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvass for the city* and county, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him. Our gracious sovereign has not yet forgotten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity and of the safety of his person, when, at a crisis which courtiers affected to call alarming, you left the metropolis exposed for two nights together, to every species of riot and disorder.

JUNIUS."

Extract from Junius's Letter to the King.

Dec. 19, 1769.

"You have still an honorable part to act. The affections of your subjects may still be recovered. But before you subdue *their* hearts, you must gain a noble victory over your own. Discard those little personal resentments, which have too long directed your public conduct. Pardon this man† the remainder of his punishment; and, if resentment still prevails, make it, what it should have been long since, an act, not of mercy, but of contempt. He will soon fall back into his natural station; a silent senator, and hardly supporting the weekly eloquence of a newspaper. The gentle breath of peace would leave him on the surface, neglected and unremoved. It is only the tempest that lifts him from his place."

* Prior to his offering himself for the county of Middlesex, Wilkes had become a candidate for the metropolis, and it was in consequence of his failure in the city, that he pressed forward to the country. The populace, in both cases, were so numerously and so violently attached to him, that many serious riots were the consequence—and so outrageous were they in two or three instances, that the court party strenuously asserted that the city and even the palace itself were not free from danger.—*Ed.*

† Wilkes.

DISPUTE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF JUNIUS AND MR. HORNE.

I SHALL now make a few extracts from the famous dispute and correspondence of Junius and Mr. Horne, and add such reflections as appear to my mind to be applicable to the case.

Junius makes the attack, in a letter to the duke of Grafton, as follows:

July 9, 1771.

"Your grace's re-appointment to a seat in the cabinet was announced to the public by the ominous return of lord Bute to this country.* When that noxious planet approaches England, he never fails to bring plague and pestilence along with him. The king already feels the malignant effect of your influence over his councils. Your former administration made Mr. Wilkes an alderman of London and representative of Middlesex. Your next appearance in office is marked with his election to the shrievalty. In whatever measure you are concerned, you are not only disappointed of success, but always contrive to make the government of the best of princes contemptible in his own eyes, and ridiculous to the whole world. Making all due allowance for the effect of the minister's declared interposition, Mr. Robinson's activity, and Mr. Horne's new zeal in support of administration, we still want the genius of the duke of Grafton to account for committing the whole interest of government in the city to the conduct of Mr. Harley."

"The unfortunate success of the reverend Mr. Horne's endeavours in support of the ministerial nomination of sheriffs, will, I fear, obstruct his preferment. Permit me to recommend him to your grace's protection."

In this sham attack upon Horne, Junius very civilly gives a back-handed cut at his *friend* Wilkes.

* From the continent.—*Ed*

The weakness and futility of the charge brought against Horne of supporting the existing administration at that time, shows that it was intended for no other purpose than to give him an opportunity to refute it. Wilkes himself had not the folly to pretend to any such thing. It was well known that Plumbe and Kirkman were the government candidates for the shrievalty; and that Oliver was supported by Horne, Townsend, Sawbridge and others the most respectable of the whig party, in opposition to Wilkes and his colleague Bull. The whig party was divided. We understand this matter very well in New-York.

Horne had long before given up any expectation of preferment in the church; his letter to Wilkes had settled that business. As to being afterwards likened to a monk, the whole tenor of his life was in such direct opposition to that character as to render the allegation of no effect.

Horne to Junius.

July 13, 1771.

"You charge me with 'a new zeal in support of administration,' and with 'endeavors in support of the ministerial nomination of sheriffs.' The reputation which your talents have deservedly gained to the signature of Junius, draws from me a reply, which I disdained to give to the anonymous lies of Mr. Wilkes. You make frequent use of the word *Gentleman*; I only call myself a *Man*, and desire no other distinction; if you are either, you are bound to make good your charges, or to confess that you have done me a hasty injustice upon no authority."

This affected manner of setting up an opponent is ridiculous. Horne had before answered both the anonymous and personal lies of Mr. Wilkes; and as Wilkes would write no more, he awkwardly drags Junius into the controversy. With respect to the word gentleman, used by Junius, Mr. Heron makes the following remarks.

"Junius used the title of *gentleman* with affectation: and it

is affectedly, that Mr. Horne here arrogates the emphatic appellation of a *man*.

"The word *man*, as here used by Horne, means precisely the same thing as *gentleman* in the sense in which it was employed by Junius. Horne meant by it, a person possessing the common sense, the common honesty, and the kind affections expressing themselves in gentleness and benignity, which are esteemed the only worthy characteristics of human nature, neither excessively debased, nor exceedingly exalted above its middle rate of excellence.

"What Horne here says of *man* and *gentleman*, is, therefore, merely idle and impertinent cavil."

Mr. Heron did not perceive that the whole correspondence was "merely idle and impertinent cavil."

"You have every advantage, and I have every disadvantage: you are unknown: I give my name. All parties, both in and out of administration, have their reasons (which I shall relate hereafter) for uniting in their wishes against me: and the popular prejudice is as strongly in *your* favor as it is violent against the *parson*.*

"Singular as my present situation is, it is neither painful, nor was it unforeseen. He is not fit for public business, who does not, even at his entrance, prepare his mind for such an event. Health, fortune, tranquillity, and private connexions, I have sacrificed upon the altar of the public; and the only return I received, because I will not concur to dupe and mislead a senseless multitude, is barely, that they have not yet torn me in pieces."

The sympathy existing in the minds of these two gentlemen, Junius and Horne, is amazing. A little before Horne wrote the above, viz. April 22, 1771, Junius addressed the printer of the Public Advertiser as follows:

* That is, Horne, as Junius, was highly respected, but, as parson Horne, was in great disrepute.

"Sir,—To write for profit, without taxing the press; to write for fame, and to be unknown; to support the intrigues of faction, and to be disowned as a *dangerous auxiliary* by *every party* in the kingdom, are contradictions which the minister must reconcile before I forfeit my credit with the public. I may quit the service, but it would be absurd to suspect me of desertion. The reputation of these papers is an honorable pledge for my attachment to the people. To *sacrifice* a respected character, and to *renounce* the esteem of society, requires more than Mr. Wedderburne's resolution. But, in truth, sir, I have left no room for an accommodation with the piety of St. James's. My offences are not to be redeemed by recantation or repentance. On one side, our *warmest patriots** would disclaim me as a burthen to their *honest* ambition. On the other, the vilest prostitution, if Junius could descend to it, would lose its natural merit and influence in the cabinet, and treachery be no longer a recommendation to the royal favor."

How had Junius, an anonymous writer, *sacrificed a respectable character?* He is not known to this day, and therefore had sacrificed no character as Junius. But by substituting the proper name, Horne, the mystery is explained.

A short time after the date of the above letter of Horne to Junius, viz. Sep. 7, 1771, the latter, in a letter to Wilkes, thus expresses himself:

"A man who honestly engages in a public cause, must prepare himself for events which will at once demand his utmost patience, and rouse his warmest indignation. I feel myself, at this moment, in the very situation I describe; yet from the common enemy I expect nothing but hostilities against the people. It is the conduct of our friends that surprises and afflicts me."

Junius to Horne.

July 24, 1771.

Sir,—I cannot descend to an altercation with you in the

* The Wilkites.

newspapers: but since I have attacked your character, and you complain of injustice, I think you have some right to an explanation."

The consummate duplicity of this single passage is sufficient to prove the whole correspondence a sheer hoax. Junius contended in the newspapers with every body that came in his way, either personally or anonymously, and objects to an altercation in like manner with a man of the first talents in Great Britain, who had done more in support of correct political principles than any man in it.

"Neither do I pretend to any intelligence concerning you, or to know more of your conduct than you yourself have thought proper to communicate to the public. It is from your own letters, I conclude, that you have sold yourself to the ministry."

The pretended ignorance of Junius of so distinguished a character as John Horne, is on a par with his denial of a personal knowledge of George Grenville. The extravagance of which in both cases is calculated to defeat the object intended. The letters alluded to, Mr. Woodfall says, were those written by Mr. Horne in the dispute with Mr. Wilkes. Is there any thing in those letters tending to show what is here alleged?

"I can make allowances for the violence of the passions; and if ever I should be convinced that you had no motive but to destroy Wilkes, I shall then be ready to do justice to your character, and to declare to the world, that I despise you somewhat less than I do at present."

This was exactly what Mr. Horne wished an opportunity more fully to show, and the very object for which this correspondence was commenced.

Junius adds, "But as a public man, I must for ever condemn you." The impolicy of Mr. Horne's exposure of the character and conduct of Wilkes had been, it appears, before noticed by others, and Mr. Horne seemed anxious to show that it was important for the public to know his real character. He says in one of his letters to Mr. Wilkes, "I have been asked by some well meaning men, why I will suffer any private pique or quarrel between us to come before the public and injure that cause?" The public cause of which he was speaking. And

he endeavored, in that letter, to prove the propriety and necessity of the course he had taken; but doubtless finding that his reasonings had not had sufficient weight with the multitude, he here brings forward the subject again that he might be more explicit upon it.

"I know that man much better than any of you. Nature intended him only for a good-humoured fool. A systematical education with long practice, has made him a consummate hypocrite."

Mr. Horne, in the character of Junius, here alludes to his personal knowledge of George III, when young. "When a boy, says Mr. Stephens, he (Horne) had been introduced at Leicester House, by means of Dr. Demainbray, and was accustomed to play with his present majesty, who was exactly two years younger than himself, once or twice a week." And being a very forward boy himself, as represented by his biographer, he probably drew a comparison unfavorable to the heir to the throne, which time had not obliterated. The expression, "nature intended him," naturally carries the mind back to the period here referred to when the first indications of the future man begin to be exhibited.

"It will be in vain to say that I am a *partisan* of Mr. Wilkes, or personally *your* enemy. You will convince no man, for you do not believe it yourself."

Junius, at any rate, here speaks the truth. We have positive proof that Mr. Horne *did not believe* Junius to be his enemy. Dr. John A. Graham, of New-York, relates a conversation he had with Mr. Horne, in the year 1797, in the course of which the subject of Junius was introduced. The Dr. while expressing his admiration of the general style of the author, excepted his harsh epithets and course invectives against parson Horne; upon which the latter replied, "Junius is the *best friend* I ever had, and added, that he *knew* him well, and that he was *then living*." See Graham's Memoirs of Mr. Tooke, p. 17.

It appears that this is not the only occasion in which Mr. Horne acknowledged his acquaintance with Junius. Mr. Stephens (see his Memoirs, vol. i. p. 415.) speaking of Junius, observes, "I have been assured, more than once, by the subject

of this memoir, that he absolutely *knew* the author. 'To another gentleman, he lately added, 'that he was still alive.'"

Although the declaration of Mr. Horne to Dr. Graham, in regard to the friendship existing between the parties, must be admitted to be equivocal, yet, by destroying the supposed reality of a serious dispute between Horne and Junius, it goes to undermine the whole plot, and thereby completely to expose the fraud. If Junius was Horne's *best friend*, the pretended quarrel was a farce, and the disputants one and the same person.

"You say you are a *man*. Was it generous, was it manly, repeatedly to introduce into a newspaper, the name of a young lady with whom you must heretofore have lived on terms of politeness and good humour?"

This nonsense is introduced merely to furnish a topic for discussion, and alludes to the following declaration in one of Horne's letters to Wilkes; "To complete his plan of *economy*, he sent his daughter to Paris to see the Dauphin's wedding." A mighty uncivil thing to be sure.

Mr. G. Woodfall, in his edition of 1812, to keep up the delusion by making something monstrous out of the case, as an apology for its introduction, says, "Horne had taken liberties with the name of Miss Wilkes in his public letters in *some of the newspapers*—and *liberties* which no misconduct of hers had entitled him to take."

This assertion is made for the first time more than forty years after the occurrence alluded to, and of course without any knowledge of the fact. Junius only charges Horne with "introducing into the newspapers the name of a young lady," but takes care not to say, that any improper insinuations were made, but this defect, in order to justify the parade made about it, has been supplied by Mr. G. Woodfall. The expression, "in some of the newspapers," shows Mr. Woodfall's ignorance on the subject. The fact is, the passage which served as a topic for Mr. Horne to exercise his wit upon, if there be any wit in the case, appeared in the Public Advertiser, owned and edited by Mr. H. S. Woodfall.

"This letter,* you see, is not intended for the public; but, if you think it will do you any service, you are at liberty to publish it."

What ridiculous coquetry! It is surprising that this broad, awkward finesse should have passed current for a moment. Mr. Heron and G. Woodfall have exercised their wits upon it to endeavor to make it plausible. Their idea is, that Junius did not wish, by the publication of this letter, to increase the division existing in the Bill of Rights Society. This supposition is too late. It comes after the *fair*. Why write the letter at all? Why commence the controversy? The purport of the letter was as palpably calculated for the public eye as any part of the correspondence. What purpose was to be gained by abusing Mr. Horne privately? *The die was cast.*—The breach in the Bill of Rights Society was made, and was irreparable. For Junius, after keeping aloof during the whole contest of Wilkes and Horne, till the battle was over, and its consequences known, then to come forward with his sage advice, chiding Horne for not foreseeing the result, is truly contemptible.

The whole aim of this *delicate* procedure was to gull the public—to prevent a suspicion that this warfare of Junius and Horne was not a serious, *bona fide* contest.

Horne to Junius.

July 31, 1771.

"Sir,—You have disappointed me. When I told you that surmise and general abuse, in however elegant language, ought not to pass for proofs, I evidently hinted at the reply which I expected; but you have dropped your usual elegance, and seem willing to try what will be the effect of surmise and general abuse in very coarse language."

On this passage Mr. Heron remarks. "Here Horne egregiously errs. Junius's last letter is written with as much correctness and elegance of style, as any of the former."

* This letter was transmitted privately by the printer to Mr. Horne, at Junius's request. Mr. Horne returned it to the printer, with directions to publish it.

Mr. Heron did not know the difficult task Horne had to perform. Some allowance should be made for a man who writes on both sides of a question. He must occasionally say some absurd things in order to give himself an opportunity to make a smart reply.

"Of two things, however, he has condescended to give proof. He very properly produces a *young lady* to prove that I am not a man: and a good *old woman*, my grandmother, to prove Mr. Oliver a fool. Poor old soul! she read her Bible far otherwise than Junius! She often found there, that the sins of the fathers had been visited on the children: and therefore was cautious that herself, and her immediate decendants, should leave no reproach on her posterity: and they left none. How little could she foresee this reverse of Junius, who visits my political sins upon my grandmother!"

Mr. Heron seems to have been choked at this passage. All he says about it is, "What a paragraph of butfoonery!" He might with propriety have applied the same term to the whole correspondence. To my mind it is nothing more. It will be observed, that the subject of imputed guilt, in the manner of Junius, before quoted, is introduced in this place.

"To whom have I, like him, refused my name, upon complaint of injury? What printer have I desired to conceal me."

These remarks are intended to lull any suspicions that he was the author of Junius. But that work, it may be presumed, did not come within the rule he had established. In declaring to Wilkes his general practice to avow whatever he had written, he says, "But the rule does not extend to you."

"But what cares Junius for the security of the constitution? He has now unfolded to us his *diabolical* principles. As a public man he must ever condemn any measure which may tend accidentally to gratify the sovereign; and Mr. Wilkes is to be supported and assisted in all his attempts (no matter how ridiculous and mischievous his projects) *as long as he continues to be a thorn in the king's side!* The cause of the country, it seems, in the opinion of Junius, is merely to vex the king; and any rascal is to be supported in any roguery, provided he can

only thereby plant *a thorn in the king's side*. This is the very extremity of faction, and the last degree of political wickedness."

The gross absurdities strung together in the above passage, exhibit in a striking point of view, the embarrassment under which the writer labored to support this ridiculous farce, which indeed is conspicuous throughout the whole correspondence. The most trifling, insignificant topics are dwelt upon as of the highest consideration, till the arguments, for and against the positions taken, become excessively tiresome and disgusting. This would not have been the case had the dispute been a real one. The difficulties arose from the awkward condition in which the writer had placed himself. But awkward as it was, it could hardly have been expected that he would have calculated so far upon the ignorance of his readers as to pretend that Junius had no regard for the constitution, when his most strenuous efforts had been constantly directed to its preservation; nor that he entertained such narrow views in respect to the king as are here represented.

In refutation of the first insinuation, the entire letters of Junius may be referred to, and in regard to the latter, I quote the following passages.

"The people of England are loyal to the House of Hanover; not from a vain preference of one family to another, but from a conviction, that the establishment of that family was necessary to the support of their civil and religious liberties. This, sir, is a principle of allegiance equally solid and rational, fit for Englishmen to adopt, and well worthy of your majesty's encouragement."

"That he is king of a free people, is, indeed, his greatest glory. That he may long continue the king of a free people, is the second wish that animates my heart. The first is, *that the people may be free*."

This was the manly sort of loyalty always professed by Junius, as Junius, and by John Horne personally.

"Upon these principles I never have acted, and I never will act. In my opinion, it is less dishonorable to be the creature of a court, than the tool of a faction. I will not be either."

Junius, when he had a better opinion of Wilkes than he afterwards entertained, in a letter dated May, 1767, under the signature of Poplicola, speaking of the persecutions the latter had experienced from the whig party under the influence of lord Chatham, says, "He served them perhaps with too much zeal; but such is the reward which the *tools* of *faction* usually receive, and in some measure deserve, when they are imprudent enough to hazard every thing in support of other men's ambition."

"Whatever may be the event of the present wretched state of politics in this country, the principles of Junius will suit no form of government. They are not to be tolerated under any constitution. Personal enmity is a motive fit only for the devil. Whoever or whatever is sovereign, demands the *respect* and *support* of the people."

Could Mr. Horne suppose the public would think him serious when he wrote the above passage? Could there have been a greater insult offered to the common sense of the English nation, than for Mr. Horne to pretend to entertain such a sentiment? Had the nation forgotten his comparing the *sang froid* with which the then king of England had received the complaints of his subjects to Nero's fiddling while Rome was burning?

Junius to the Printer of the Public Advertiser.

Aug. 15, 1771.

This letter was affectedly addressed to the printer, for the purpose of giving to the correspondence an air of seriousness and consequence.

"Mr. Horne's situation does not correspond with his intentions. In my opinion, (which I know will be attributed to my usual vanity and presumption) his letter to me does not deserve an answer. But I understand that the public are not satisfied with my silence; that an answer is expected from me: and that if I persist in refusing to plead, it will be taken for conviction. I should be inconsistent with the principles I profess, if I declined an appeal to the good sense of the people, or did not willingly submit myself to the judgment of my peers."

Mr. Horne, in his last letter, had refuted all the charges preferred against him, on account of his quarrel with Wilkes, or

which the attacks of Junius were a mere repetition, and brought forward for the sole purpose of giving him an opportunity to do so. And now Mr. Horne and his friend Junius, it seems, had mutually agreed to suspend any farther proceedings in this *amicable suit*. The public, it appears, were fully aware that Horne had obtained a complete victory over his fictitious adversary, and called loudly for another Junius. Under these circumstances Junius again reluctantly enters the lists. This second attack, he calls an *appeal*, thereby acknowledging his defeat on the first trial. In this letter there is a good deal of irrelevant remark—no new charges are brought, nor former ones established.

There are, however, in this letter some points which go to establish the unity of these two characters, which I shall notice.

"As for myself, it is no longer a question, 'Whether I shall mix with the throng, and take a single share in the danger.' Whenever Junius appears, he must encounter a host of enemies. But is there no honorable way to serve the public, without engaging in personal quarrels with insignificant individuals, or submitting to the drudgery of canvassing votes for an election? Is there no merit in dedicating my life to the information of my fellow-subjects? What public question have I declined? What villain have I spared? Is there no labour in the composition of these letters?"

The language of Horne, in his letter preceding this, bears a strong resemblance to the above.—Which is as follows:

"In the infinite variety of business in which I have been concerned, where it is not so easy to be faultless, which of my actions can he arraign? To what danger has any man been exposed, which I have not faced? *Information, action, imprisonment, or death?* What labor have I refused? What expense have I declined? What pleasure have I not renounced?"

Compare also the following passage in a letter of Horne to Wilkes, dated May, 1771.

"But whatever may be the opinions of any persons concerning my conduct, I shall not alter it; their uninformed opinions affect me little: I know my own situation: I must ever remain a poor and a private man, and can never be a candidate for the

favor or confidence of the public. The voice of the people is not the voice of God to me, though (in the fair meaning of the word *people*) I have never thought it wrong; but it is the voice within me that shall ever be the guide of my actions."

In the passage extracted from the foregoing letter of Junius, it is evident, that Mr. Horne under that signature was describing his own situation. As he had become unpopular, he did not appear personally to take any part in the political squabbles of the day: and he compares his present occupation with what it had been when canvassing votes for Wilkes, contending with Onslow, &c.

"It seems I am a partisan of the great leader of the opposition. If the charge had been a reproach, it should have been better supported. I did not intend to make a public declaration of the respect I bear lord Chatham: I well knew what unworthy conclusions would be drawn from it. But I am called upon to deliver my opinion: and surely it is not in the little censure of Mr. Horne to deter me from doing signal justice to a man, who, I confess, has *grown upon my esteem*. As for the common *sordid* views of avarice, or any purpose of *vulgar* ambition, I question whether the applause of Junius would be of service to lord Chatham. My vote will hardly recommend him to an increase of his pension, or to a seat in the cabinet. But, if his ambition be upon a level with his understanding, if he judges of what is truly honourable for himself, with the same superior genius which animates and directs him to eloquence in debate, to wisdom in decision, even the pen of Junius shall contribute to reward him. Recorded honours shall gather round his monument, and thicken over him. It is a solid fabric, and will support the laurels that adorn it. I am not conversant in the language of panegyric. These praises are extorted from me: but they will wear well, for they have been dearly earned."

"The shortening the duration of parliament is a subject on which Mr. Horne cannot enlarge too warmly, nor will I question his sincerity. If I did not profess the same sentiments, I should be shamefully inconsistent with myself. It is unnecessary to bind lord Chatham by the written formality of an en-

gagement. He has publicly declared himself a convert to triennial parliaments."

This equivocal praise, or rather insidious reproach, has been considered as a high eulogy upon lord Chatham, and Junius in consequence ranked among his most stanch friends.

"*If* his ambition," &c. "*If* he judges of what is *truly* honorable," &c.—Then *even* the pen of *Junius* which has been so often employed against him, shall contribute to reward him, &c.

"I knew when seven justices could not take up a quarrel: but when the parties were met themselves, one of them thought but of an *if*, as, *if you said so, then I said so*: and they shook hands, and swore brothers. Your *if* is the only peace-maker: much virtue in *if*."*

To test the friendship of Junius for lord Chatham, it is necessary to revert to his letters under other signatures, in which, it seems, he expressed his mind more freely in regard to some characters than when he gave his favorite signature.

In a letter signed Poplicola, May 28, 1767, he says, "Mr. C. D. will find but few people credulous enough to believe that either Mr. Pitt or Mr. Pultney, when they accepted of a title, did not, by that action, *betray* their friends, their country, and, in every *honorable sense*, themselves."

Dec. 19, 1767.

"I will not suppose that the bulk of the British people is sunk into so criminal a state of stupidity; but that there does exist a particular set of men, base and treacherous enough to have enlisted under the banners of a lunatic,† to whom they sacrificed their honor, their conscience, and their country, in order to carry a point of party, and to gratify a personal rancour, is a truth too melancholy and too certain for Great Britain."

22 Dec. 1767.

"Mr. Woodfall,—Your correspondent of yesterday, Mr. Macaroni, in his account of the new ministerial arrangements, has thrust in a labored bombast panegyric on the earl of Chatham: in which he tells us, 'that this country owes more to him than it can ever repay.' Now, Mr. Woodfall, I entirely agree

* Shakespeare. † Lord Chatham.

with Mr. Macaroni, that this country *does* owe more to lord Chatham than it can ever repay; for to *him* we *owe* the greatest part of our national debt; and *that* I am sure we can never repay. I mean no offence to Mr. Macaroni, nor any of your *gentlemen* authors, who are so kind to give *us* citizens an *early* peep behind the political curtain, but I cannot bear to see so much incense offered to an idol, who so *little* deserves it. I am yours, &c. DOWNRIGHT."

Junius was no changeling in principle, although he possessed a happy knack of adapting his cameleon hues to the attainment of the object he had in view.

The intention of these *extorted praises*, as Junius calls them, was to *pin* lord Chatham to his declarations in favor of triennial parliaments.

To understand the force and bearing of the observations in this correspondence respecting lord Chatham, a short history of the occurrences which led to them is required.

In consequence of the part taken by Chatham, in regard to the subjects which agitated the public mind at that time, the corporation of the city of London presented him with the following vote of thanks:

"At a Common Council holden on the 14th of May, 1770, it was resolved, 'That the grateful thanks of this court be presented to the Right Hon. William earl of Chatham, for the zeal he has shown in support of those most valuable and sacred privileges, the right of election, and the right of petition; and for his wishes and declaration, that his endeavors shall hereafter be used that parliaments may be restored to their original purity by shortening their duration, and introducing a more full and equal representation; an act which will render his name more honored by posterity, than the memorable successes of the glorious war he conducted."'

The following are extracts from lord Chatham's answer:

"As to the point among the declarations which I am understood to have made, of my wishes for the public, permit me to say there has been some misapprehension, for with all my deference to the sentiments of the city, I am bound to declare

that I cannot recommend triennial parliaments as a remedy against that canker of the constitution, venality in elections: ready to submit my opinion to better judgment, if the wish for that measure shall become prevalent in the kingdom. Purity of parliament is the corner-stone in the commonwealth; and as one obvious means towards this necessary end is to strengthen and extend the natural relation between the constituents and the elected, I have, in this view, publicly expressed my earnest wishes for a more full and equal representation, by the addition of one knight of the shire in a county, as a farther balance to the mercenary boroughs.

I have thrown out this idea with the just diffidence of a private man, when he presumes to suggest any thing new on a high matter. Animated by your approbation, I shall with better hope continue humbly to submit it to the public wisdom, as an object most deliberately to be weighed, accurately examined, and maturely digested."

Mr. Horne alludes to this vote of thanks and answer thereto, in his letter to Junius, July 31, 1771, as follows:

"It was the same motive which dictated the thanks of the city to lord Chatham, which were expressed to be given for his declaration in favor of *short parliaments*, in order thereby to fix lord Chatham, at least, to that one constitutional remedy, without which all others can afford no security. The embarrassment no doubt was cruel. He had his choice, either to offend the Rockingham party, who declared formally against short parliaments, and with the assistance of whose numbers in both houses he must expect again to be minister, or to give up the confidence of the public, from whom, finally, all real consequence must proceed. Lord Chatham chose the latter; and I will venture to say, that, by his answer to those thanks, he has given up the people without gaining the friendship or cordial assistance of the Rockingham faction."

Then comes the observations of Junius before quoted. On which there is a very fair and satisfactory commentary by Junius, in a letter to Wilkes of the 7th of Sept. following, in these words:

"To a man *so capable of observation and reflection* as you are, it is unnecessary to say all that might be said upon the subject. Besides that I approve highly of lord Chatham's idea of 'infusing a portion of health into the constitution to enable it to bear its infirmities,' (a brilliant expression, and *full of intrinsic wisdom*) other reasons concur in persuading me to adopt it. I have *no objection* to *paying* him *such compliments* as *carry a condition* with them, and either *bind* him firmly to the cause, or become the *bitterest reproach* to him *if he deserts it*." "At the same time that I think it *good policy* to pay those *compliments* to lord Chatham, which, in truth, he has nobly deserved, I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures, who call themselves noblemen, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their influence over boroughs, which cannot be safely diminished, but by increasing the power of the counties at large."

In the same letter, speaking of the resolves of the society for the support of the Bill of Rights, he says, "With regard to the articles taken separately, I own I am concerned to see that the great condition, which ought to be the *sine qua non* of parliamentary qualification, which ought to be the basis, as it assuredly will be the only support, of every barrier raised in defence of the constitution; I mean *a declaration upon oath to shorten the duration of parliaments*, is reduced to the fourth rank in the esteem of the society."

It seems to have been the wish of Mr. Horne to *fix* lord Chatham "at least to one constitutional remedy"—and it was the aim of Junius to "*bind* him *firmly* to the cause." There does not therefore appear to have been much contrariety in their views. The *little* censure, consequently, of lord Chatham by Horne in comparison with the greater censure of the same character by Junius, can be accounted for in consideration of the greater freedom commonly taken by writers anonymously, than under their proper signatures.

It appears that Junius, *alias* Horne, had previously by great management brought lord Chatham to declare himself in favor of triennial parliaments; and it was probably thought necessary to bestow a little flattery upon him, as well as reproaches for his former conduct, to prevent his relinquishing that ground

Abusing him under one signature and praising him under the other. For we find that, in a debate before the house of lords, April 30, 1771, on the subject of the violations of the rights of the electors, in the election for Middlesex, lord Chatham said,

"That formerly the inconveniences of shortening the duration of parliaments had had great weight with him, but that now it was no longer a question of convenience, the *summa rerum* is at stake,—your whole constitution is giving way;—and therefore, with the most deliberate and solemn conviction to his understanding, he now declared himself a *convert to triennial parliaments.*"

Mr. Horne closes the correspondence as follows:

"You brought a positive charge against me of corruption. I denied the charge, and called for your proofs. You replied with abuse, and re-asserted your charge. I called again for proofs. You reply again with abuse only, and drop your accusation. In your fortnight's letter, there is not one word upon the subject of my corruption.

"I have no more to say, but to return thanks to you for your *condescension*, and to a *grateful* public, and *honest* ministry, for all the favors they have conferred upon me."

Thus ends this *sham fight;* and although there was nothing material to answer in the last letter of Junius, he thus writes to Woodfall; "If Mr. Horne answers this letter *handsomely* and in *point*, he shall be my *great Apollo.*"

Fraud is stamped upon this correspondence from beginning to end. Even the manner in which Mr. Horne subscribes himself in his first letter shows plainly that it was a hoax. He did not usually affect any etiquette in his correspondences, yet, in this instance, although apparently attacked in a very abusive manner by an anonymous writer, he closes his answer with. "I am, sir, your humble servant." This unusual and unnecessary appendage to a letter addressed to an anonymous writer, was evidently made to give an appearance of seriousness and reality to a fiction. Mr. Horne however obtained his object in showing the propriety of his conduct in respect to Wilkes; and was declared victor over the vanquisher of all others who dared to enter the lists against him.

The editors of the Quarterly Review, speaking of Mr. Horne, say, "The most finished specimen of his composition is probably to be found in the two or three letters written in answer to the attacks of Junius; and he had the honor, which, in those days, was deemed no inconsiderable one, of being the only knight that returned with his lance unbroken from a combat with that unknown, but terrible champion. The great fault of Junius is a sort of stiffness and appearance of labor. His compositions smell too much of the lamp. He wanted nothing to be a perfect master of his art, but the power of concealing it. Mr. Tooke's letters have the flow, unity, and simplicity which belong to writings struck off at a heat, and which depend for their effect, rather upon the general powers of the writer, than upon great nicety and labor in the particular instance.

"In justice to Junius, as a writer, we must add, that he was laboring under the disadvantage of a weak case. It is evident that he was early and deeply sensible of his own mistake; and he was therefore glad to put an end to the contest as soon as possible, even at the price of leaving his adversary in possession of the field; a humiliation to which he would not have submitted, but from the consciousness of his having originally selected an unfavorable ground."

The reviewers are in error in supposing that Junius made a mistake in this case. The controversy undoubtedly ended as he had calculated and intended.—If their criticism in regard to the style of the letters be correct, it is easily accounted for: the subjects to which Horne had to reply were at his fingers' ends, he having just travelled over the same ground with Wilkes. But on the other side he had to take a new tack, and no doubt felt awkward in it, for the charges were to be wholly fabricated without any plausible pretext for their support.

In regard to the letters of Junius generally, great pains were taken in their composition to render them palatable to the public, and the author no doubt departed in a great measure from his usual style to prevent detection.

Finally, this dispute between Junius and Horne, may be compared to the quarrels of lawyers intended only to dupe their clients into an opinion that they are in earnest, and to be laughed

at whenever they meet out of court. The only difference in the cases is, that Horne had the laugh entirely to himself. His entertainment was a *solo*, at the performance of which even spectators could not be admitted.

After writing the above, I observed in a number of the New Monthly Magazine* for March, 1824, in an article on Horne Tooke, the following remarks, that, "Junius, after bringing a hasty charge against him, (Tooke) has not *a single fact* to produce in support of it; but keeps his ground and fairly beats his adversary out of the field by the mere force of style." Ridiculous. It is surprising that it did not occur to the writer of this article that it was improbable that Junius, with all his foresight, would make a *serious* charge against any one without possessing any facts to support it, and particularly against such a person as John Horne Tooke, who was so capable of defending himself; and this too for the purpose of vindicating the conduct of a demagogue whom he despised. The want of a due understanding of this pretended quarrel has led writers on the subject into the most wild and contradictory speculations.

This writer, however, is correct in saying, that "Junius has not a single fact to produce in support of his hasty charge," and this ought to have convinced him that the charge was not *seriously* made—that it was all a hoax.

By a critical examination of the correspondence of Junius and Horne, it will be perceived that there is a strong internal evidence arising from the similarity of diction, independent of other circumstances, to prove that one and the same hand composed the letters under both signatures. Former critiques upon these letters have been written under a prepossession that they were the composition of different hands, and therefore the attention of the writers of them was diverted from observing that similarity of style which probably would have been noticed had the examinations been made free from previous impressions.

* A London publication.

POSTHUMOUS WORKS

OF

JUNIUS.

CHAPTER XIV.

Private correspondence between Junius and John Wilkes.

The correspondence of Horne and Wilkes was brought to a close on the 10th July, 1771. On the 9th of the same month, Mr. Horne engages in a warfare with Junius. In this controversy, Junius by a specious appearance of earnestness in his attacks upon Horne, and vindication of Wilkes, induces the latter to form a favorable opinion of his disposition towards him.—The dispute ended on the 16th of August, and on the 21st of the same, Junius commences a private correspondence with Wilkes, who was now well prepared to receive any impression which his friend Junius should think proper to impose upon him. Although in this correspondence Junius appears to have taken little pains to cloak the deception, and notwithstanding the gross flatteries bestowed upon Wilkes so contrary to the uniform habits of Junius, still the former was completely gulled: and what is more extraordinary, the readers of Junius to this day have labored under the same delusion. Here follows the correspondence.

No. I. To John Wilkes, Esq.

London, 21st August, 1771.*

I presume, sir, you are satisfied that I mean you well, and that it is not necessary to assure you that while you adhere to the

* On this letter is written in Mr. Wilkes's own hand, the following memorandum:
"*August*, 21, 1771.
Received on Wednesday noon by a chairman, who said he brought it from a gentleman whom he saw in Lancaster Court, in the Strand. J. W."

resolution of depending only upon the public favor, (which, if you have half the understanding I attribute to you, you never can depart from) you may rely upon my utmost assistance. Whatever imaginary views may be ascribed to the author, it must always make part of Junius's plan to support Mr. Wilkes while *he* makes common cause with the people.* I would engage your favorable attention to what I am going to say to you; and I intreat you not to be too hasty in concluding, from the apparent tendency of this letter, to any possible interests or connexions of my own. It is a very common mistake in judgment, and a very dangerous one in conduct, first to look for nothing in the argument proposed to us, but the motive of the man who uses it, and then to measure the truth of his argument by the motive we have assigned to him. With regard to me, sir, any refinement in this way would assuredly mislead you: and though I do not disclaim the idea of some personal views to future honor and advantage, (you would not believe me if I did) yet I can truly affirm, that neither are they little in themselves nor can they by any possible conjecture be collected from my writings.

Mr. Horne after doing much mischief, is now, I think, completely defeated and disarmed. The author of the late unhappy divisions in the city is removed.—Why should we suffer his works to live after him? In this view, I confess, I am vindictive, and would visit his sins upon his children. I would punish him in his offspring, by repairing the breaches he has made.—Convinced that I am speaking to a man who has spirit enough to act if his judgment be satisfied, I will not scruple to declare at once, that Mr. Sawbridge ought to be lord mayor, and that he ought to owe it to *your* first motion, and to the exertion of all your credit in the city.—I affirm, without a doubt, that political prudence, the benefit of the cause, your public reputation and personal interests, do all equally demand this conduct of you. —I do not deny that a stroke like this is above the level of vulgar policy, or that if you were a much less considerable man than you are, it would not suit you. But you will recollect,

* This was always the uniform language of Mr. Horne.

sir, that the public opinion of you rises every day, and that you must enlarge your plan as you proceed, since you have every day a new acquisition of credit to maintain.—I offer you the sincere opinion of a man, who, perhaps, has more leisure to make reflections than you have, and who, though he stands clear of all business and intrigue, mixes sufficiently for the purposes of intelligence in the conversation of the world.

Whatever language you in prudence assume to the public, you cannot but be sensible that the separation of those gentlemen who withdrew from the Bill of Rights, was of considerable disservice to you. It required, in my opinion, your utmost dexterity and resolution, and not a little of your good fortune, to get the better of it. But are you now really upon the best ground on which Mr. Wilkes might stand in the city? Will you say, that to separate Mr. Sawbridge from a connexion every way hostile to you, and to secure him against the insidious arts of Mr. Horne, and the fury of Mr. Townshend, (if it could be done without embarrassing your leading measures, and much more if it promoted them) would not give you a considerable personal gratification?* Will you say, that a public declaration of Mr. Sawbridge in your favor, and the appearance of your

* Mr. Sawbridge was the steadfast and invariable friend of Mr. Horne. He and alderman Townsend, says Woodfall, "had been persuaded by Horne to unite in supporting Oliver against Wilkes," for sheriff. In a list of the particular friends of Mr. Horne, given by Stephens, Sawbridge holds a conspicuous place. When preparing for admission to the bar as an attorney, he observes, "Sawbridge, Townsend, and two other friends agreed to present him with joint bonds for four hundred a year, which he received most gratefully, but never asked for." When Mr. Horne had been condemned to imprisonment on a charge of libel against the government, "no sooner (says Stephens) was he settled in comfortable apartments, without the walls of the prison, that Mr. Horne received visits from all his friends, particularly the aldermen Oliver, Townsend, and Sawbridge; together with Sir John Bernard and Mr. Tooke. These, and several others, soon after instituted a weekly meeting at a neighboring tavern; a circumstance, which gave birth, perhaps, to the Sunday dinners, at Wimbledon, many years after."

This is the gentleman whom Junius recommends to the support of Mr. Wilkes for lord mayor, in order "to secure him against the *insidious* arts of Mr. Horne, and the *fury* of Mr. Townshend." Excellent. This gilding of the bait was well thought of. It would have been too gross to include Townshend among the favored: but Sawbridge when mayor could take care of his friends

acting together, (I do not speak at present of a hearty coalition or confidence) would not contribute to give you a more secure, a more permanent, and without offence to any man, a more honorable hold upon the city than you have at present? What sensations do you conceive a union between you and Mr. Sawbridge would excite in the breast of *Mr. Horne?* Would it not amount to a decisive refutation of all the invidious arguments he has drawn from your being deserted by so many of the considerable figures of the party?* The answer to these questions is too obvious to be mistaken. But you will say to yourself what you would not confess to Junius.—'Mr. Sawbridge is a man of unquestionable probity, and the concurrence of his reputation would undoubtedly be of service to me: but he has not pliancy enough to yield to persuasion, and I, Wilkes, am determined not to suffer another to reap the harvest of my labors: that is, to take the lead of me in the city.'—Sir, I do not mean or expect that you should make such a sacrifice to any man. But besides difference in point of conduct between leading and going foremost, I answer your thoughts when I say, that although Mr. Sawbridge is not to be directed (and even this perhaps is not so literally and completely true as he himself imagines) on the other hand he does not mean to direct. His disposition, as you well know, is not fitted for that active management and intrigue which acquire an operating popularity, and direct the people by their passions. I attribute to you both the most honorable intentions for the public, but you travel different roads, and never can be rivals.—It is not that Mr. Sawbridge does not wish to be popular; but, if I am not greatly mistaken, his virtues have not ostentation enough for the ordinary uses of party, and *that* they lead rather to the esteem of individuals than to popular opinion.—This I conceive is exactly the man you want—you cannot always support a ferment in the minds of men. There will necessarily be moments of languor and fatigue: and upon these occasions Mr. Sawbridge's reputed firmness and integrity may be a capital resource to you.

* Here the *insidious artifice* of Mr. Horne is fully exemplified.

—you have too much sagacity not to perceive how far this reasoning might be carried.

In the very outset, you reap a considerable advantage, either from his acceptance or refusal.—What a copious subject of ostentation!—what rich colors to the public! your zeal to restore tranquillity to the city.—The sacrifice of all personal recollections in favor of a man whose general character you esteem:—the public good preferred to every private or interested consideration, with a long *et cætera* to your own advantage. —Yet I do not mean to persuade you to so simple a part as that of contributing to gratify Mr. Sawbridge, without a reciprocal assurance from him, that upon fair and honorable occasions he will in return promote your advantage.—Your own judgment will easily suggest to you such terms of acknowledgment as may be binding upon him in point of gratitude, and not offensive to his delicacy.—I have not entered into the consideration of any objections drawn from the fertile field of provocation and resentment.—Common men are influenced by common motives:—but you, sir, who pretend to lead the people, must act upon higher principles. To make our passions subservient to you, you must command your own. The man, who for any personal indulgence whatsoever, can sacrifice a great purpose to a little one, is not qualified for the management of great affairs.

Let me suppose then that every material difficulty on your part is removed; and that, as far as you alone are concerned, you would be ready to adopt the plan I propose to you.

If you are a man of honor you will still have a powerful objection to oppose to me. Admitting the apparent advantage to your own purposes, and to the cause you are engaged in, you will tell me "that you are no longer at liberty to choose;—that the desertion of those persons who once possessed a warm attachment to you, has reduced you to a situation in which you cannot do that which is absolutely best;—that Mr. Crosby has deserved every thing from you and from the city, and that you stand engaged to contribute your whole strength to continue him another year in the mayoralty."—My reply to this very just objection is addressed rather to Mr. Crosby than to Mr

Wilkes. He ought at all events to be satisfied; and if I cannot bring him over to my opinion, there is an end of the argument: for I do agree with you most heartily, that it is as gross a breach of policy as of morals, to sacrifice the man who has deserved well of us to any temporary benefit whatsoever. Far from meaning to separate you from Mr. Crosby, it is essential to the measure I recommend, that it should be your joint act. Nay, it is he who in the first instance should open the communication with Mr. Sawbridge; nor is it possible for you to gain any credit by the measure in which he will not of necessity be a considerable sharer. But now, for considerations which immediately affect Mr. Crosby.

Your plan, as I am informed, is to engage the livery to return him with Mr. Bridgen.—In my own opinion the court of aldermen will choose Bridgen, consequently the sacrifice I require of Mr. Crosby would in effect be nothing. That he will be defeated is to my judgment inevitable. It is for him to consider whether the idea of a defeat be not always attended with some loss of reputation. In that case too he will have forced upon the citizens (whom he professes to love and respect) a magistrate, upon whose odious and contemptible character he at present founds his only hopes of success. Do you think that the city will not once in the course of a twelvemonth be sensible of the displeasure you have done them?—Or that it will not be placed in strong terms to your account. I appeal to Miss Wilkes, whose judgment I hear highly commended,—would she think herself much indebted to her favorite admirer, if he forced a most disagreeable partner upon her for a long winter's night, because he could not dance with her himself?

You will now say;—'Sir, we understand the politics of the city better than you do, and are well assured that Mr. Crosby will be chosen lord mayor:—otherwise we allow that upon your plan he might acquire credit without forfeiting any real advantage.' Upon this ground I expect you, for I confess it is incumbent upon me to meet your argument, where it lies strongest against me.—Taking it for granted, then, that Mr. Crosby may be lord mayor, I affirm that it is not his interest, because it is not his greatest interest. The little profit of the salary cannot

possibly be in contemplation with him.—I do not doubt that he would rather make it an expensive office to himself. His view must be directed then to the flattering distinction of succeeding to a second mayoralty, and what is still more honorable, to the being thought worthy of it by his fellow-citizens.—Placing this advantage in its strongest light, I say that every purpose of distinction is as completely answered by his being known to have had the employment in his power (which may be well insisted upon in argument, and can never be disproved by the fact) as by his accepting it. To this I add the signal credit he will acquire with every honest man by renouncing, upon motives of the clearest and most disinterested public spirit, a personal honor, which you may fairly tell the world was unquestionably within his reach.—But these are trifles.—I assert that by now accepting the mayoralty (which he may take hereafter whenever he pleases) he precludes himself from soliciting, with any color of decency, a real and solid reward from the city.—I mean that he should be returned for London in the next parliament.—I think his conduct entitles him to it, and that he cannot fail of succeeding if he does not furnish his opponents with too just a pretence for saying that the city have already rewarded him. On the contrary, with what force and truth may he tell his fellow-citizens at the next election, 'for your sakes I relinquished the honor you intended me. The common good required it. But I did not mean to renounce my hopes that upon a proper occasion you would honor me with a public mark of your approbation.'

You see I did not insist upon the good effects of Mr. Sawbridge's gratitude, yet I am sure it may be depended upon. I do not say that he is a man to go all lengths with Mr. Wilkes; but you may be assured that it is not danger that will deter him, and that wherever you have the voice of the people with you, he will, upon principle, support their choice at the hazard of his life and fortune.

Now, sir, supposing all objections are removed, and that you and Mr. Crosby are agreed, the question is in what manner is the business to be opened to Mr. Sawbridge. Upon this point too I shall offer you my opinion, because the plan of this

letter would not otherwise be complete.—At the same time I do very unaffectedly submit myself to your judgment.

I would have my lord mayor begin by desiring a private interview between him, Mr. Crosby and yourself. Very little preface will be necessary. You have a man to deal with who is too honorable to take an unfair advantage of you. With such a man you gain every thing by frankness and candor, and hazard nothing by the confidence you repose in him.—Notwithstanding any passages in this letter, I would show him the whole of it; in a great business there is nothing so fatal as cunning management:—and I would tell him it contained the plan upon which Mr. Crosby and you were desirous to act, provided he would engage to concur in it *bona fide*, so far forth as he was concerned. There is one condition I own which appears to me a *sine qua non*; and yet I do not see how it can be proposed in terms unless his own good sense suggests the necessity of it to him.—I mean the *total* and *absolute renunciation* of *Mr. Horne*. It is very likely indeed that this gentleman may do the business for himself, either by laying aside the *mask* at once, or by abusing Mr. Sawbridge for accepting the mayoralty upon any terms whatsoever of accommodation with Mr. Wilkes.*

This letter, sir, is not intended for a correct or polished composition: but it contains the very best of Junius's understanding. Do not treat me so unworthily, or rather do not degrade yourself so much, as to *suspect me* of any *interested view* to Mr. Sawbridge's particular advantage. By all that's honorable I mean nothing but the *cause*: and I may defy your keenest penetration to assign a satisfactory reason why Junius, whoever he may be, should have a personal interest in giving the mayoralty to Mr. Sawbridge, rather than to Mr. Crosby.

I am heartily weary of writing, and shall reserve another subject, on which I mean to address you, for another opportu-

* What maneuvring to bring Wilkes to a proper bearing on the subject, that he might take a full view of the whole ground. What *mask* had Mr. Horne to "lay aside," except that of appearing in false colors under the signature of Junius?

nity.—I think that this letter, if you act upon it, should be a secret to every body but Mr. Sawbridge and my lord mayor.

JUNIUS.*

Letter II. To John Wilkes, Esq.

London, 7th September, 1771.*

As this letter, sir, has no relation to the subject of my last, the motives upon which you may have rejected one of my opinions, ought not to influence your judgment of another. I am not very sanguine in my expectations of persuading, nor do I think myself entitled to quarrel with any man, for not following my advice: yet this, I believe, is a species of injustice you have often experienced from your friends. From you, sir, I expect in return, that you will not remember how unsuccessfully I have recommended one measure to your consideration, lest you should think yourself bound to assert your consistency, and, in the true spirit of persecution, to pass the same sentence indifferently upon all my opinions. Forgive this levity, and now to the business.

A man, who honestly engages in a public cause, must prepare himself for events which will at once demand his utmost patience, and rouse his warmest indignation. I feel myself, at this moment in the *very situation* I describe; yet from the common enemy I expect nothing but hostilities against the people. It is the conduct of our friends that surprises and

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* The plan recommended by Junius in the above letter was not acted upon by Mr. Wilkes, for the reasons assigned by him in his letter of Sept 12, 1771, (No. 3.) The consequence was, that Mr. Alderman Nash, the ministerial candidate, was elected lord mayor, to the infinite mortification of Junius, who, in Private Letter, No. 56, makes the following observation upon him and his election. "What an abandoned, prostituted idiot is your lord mayor! The shameful mismanagement, which brought him into office, gave me the first, and an unconquerable disgust." The subjoined is a list of the candidates for that office, with the numbers affixed to their respective names as they stood at the close of the poll:—

For Mr. Alderman Nash - -	2199
Mr. Alderman Sawbridge -	1879
The lord mayor - - -	1795
Mr. Alderman Halifax - -	846
Mr. Alderman Townshend -	151
Sir Henry Bankes - -	36

* Marked by Mr. Wilkes. "Received Saturday, Sept. 7. 1771."

afflicts me. I cannot but resent the injury done to the common cause by the assembly at the London Tavern, nor can I conceal from you my own particular disappointment. They had it in their power to perform a real, effectual service to the nation; and we expected from them a proof, not only of their zeal, but of their judgment.—Whereas the measure they have adopted is so shamefully injudicious, with regard to its declared object, that, in my opinion, it will, and reasonably ought, to make their zeal very questionable with the people they mean to serve. When I see a measure excellent in itself, and not absolutely unattainable, either not made the principal object, or extravagantly loaded with conditions palpably absurd or impracticable, I cannot easily satisfy myself, that the man who proposes it, is quite so sincere as he pretends to be. *You* at least, Mr. Wilkes, should have shown more temper and prudence, and a better knowledge of mankind. No personal respects whatsoever should have persuaded you to concur in these ridiculous resolutions. But my own zeal, I perceive, betrays me: I will endeavor to keep a better guard upon my temper, and apply to your judgment in the most cautious and measured language.

I object, in the first place, to the bulk, and much more to the style of your resolutions of the 23d of July:* though some part

* A copy of which is subjoined, to enable the reader the better to understand Junius's objections to them. They are as follow:—

London Tavern, July 23, 1771.

SUPPORTERS OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

SAVAGE BARRELL, ESQ. IN THE CHAIR.

Resolved, That the preamble, with the articles reported this day from the committee, be printed and published from this society.

Whoever seriously considers the conduct of administration, both at home and abroad, can hardly entertain a doubt, that a plan is formed to subvert the constitution.

In the same manner, whoever attentively examines into the proceedings of the present house of commons, must apprehend, that such another house for seven years, after the termination of the present parliament, would effectually accomplish the views of the court, and leave no hope of redress but in an appeal to God.

The Middlesex election, taken on its true ground; the employment of the standing army, in St. George's Fields; the granting half a million, without inquiring into the expenditure of the civil list money, and upon the dangerous

of the preamble is as pointed as I could wish. You talk of yourselves with too much authority and importance. By assuming this false pomp and air of consequence, you either give general disgust, or what is infinitely more dangerous, you expose your-

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principle of considering the debts of the civil list as the debts of the nation; and encroaching, to discharge them, upon the sinking fund, the great support of public credit; the attempts made on juries, the last sacred bulwark of liberty and law; the arbitrary and venal hand with which government is conducted in Ireland; the new and most unconstitutional mode of raising a revenue on the people of America, without asking the consent of their representatives; the introduction of an universal excise in America, instead of the laws of customs; the advancing the military above the civil power, and employing troops to awe the legislature:—All these are measures of so marked, so mischievous a nature, that it is impossible they should be unfelt or misunderstood: yet these are measures which the house of commons have acquiesced in, countenanced, or executed.

If the present house of commons then have given such vital wounds to the constitution, who is it can doubt, who is it can hope, that the conduct of such another house, will not be mortal to our liberties?

The trustees of the people should be pure of all interested communication with the court or its ministers: yet the corrupt correspondence between the members of the house and the court is as notorious now as it is abhorrent from every great and good purpose of their institution. Placemen, pensioners, contractors and receivers of lottery tickets, abound to such a degree in the house of commons, that it is impossible a house so constituted can do their duty to the people.

It must be plain to the most common apprehension, that men deputed by the people, to watch over and guard their rights against the crown and its ministers, and for that purpose, vested with the transcendent powers of refusing aid to the one, and impeaching the other, can never duly exercise those powers, or fulfil the intention of their election, if they are kept in pay of that crown and those ministers. What is the plain and inevitable consequence then of entrusting such men with the guardianship of our rights, but that our rights must be betrayed and violated? Thus we have seen a house of commons infringing, as the court had pre-ordained, the sacred birthright of the people in the freedom of election, erasing a judicial record; committing to the tower, and threatening with impeachment, the friends of the people, and the defenders of the law; while the favorites of the court are suffered to sport with the laws, and trample on the constitution, not only with impunity, but with approbation; curbing the people rigorously, and without feeling; while they uphold ministers, who are abhorred by the nation, in the most dangerous and alarming exertions of power; granting money with the most liberal, the most licentious hand to those ministers against whom the voice of the people calls loudly for impeachment. We have a suspecting people, and a confiding representative; a complaining people, and an exulting representative; a remonstrating people, and an addressing adulating representative,—a representative, that is an engine of oppression in the hand of the crown, instead of being a grand controlling inquest in favor of the people. Such a representative

selves to be laughed at. The English are a fastidious people, and will not submit to be talked to in so high a tone, by a set of private gentlemen, of whom they know nothing, but that they call themselves *Supporters of the Bill of Rights.* There are

is a monster in the constitution, which must fill every considerate man with grief, alarm, astonishment, and indignation.

It is corruption that has engendered, nursed, and nourished this monster. Against such corruption, then, all men, who value the preservation of their dearest rights, are called upon to unite. Let us remember, that we ourselves, our children, and our posterity, must be freemen or slaves; as we preserve or prostitute the noble birthright our ancestors bequeathed us: for should this corruption be once firmly rooted, we shall be an undone people.

Already is it fixed among the representatives, and we taste, a thousand ways, the bitter fruit which it produces; should it extend equally to the electors, we must fall, as Greece and Rome have fallen, by the same means, from the same liberty and glory, to slavery, contempt, and wretchedness.

Impressed with these ideas, the gentlemen who compose the society of the Bill of Rights, have determined to use their utmost endeavors to exterminate this corruption, by providing for the freedom of election, the equal representation of the people, the integrity of the representative, and the redress of grievances. It is their great wish to render the house of commons what it constitutionally ought to be, the temple of liberty. With these views they have drawn up the following articles, which they now submit to the electors of Great Britain. At the same time they, with great deference, take the liberty of recommending to the independent electors to form those articles into a solemn declaration, which the candidates, whom they support, shall be required as the indispensable condition of their being supported to sign and seal, publicly, at the general meeting, or at the place of election, binding themselves, by oath, to a due and sacred observance of what is therein contained.

The declaration so executed, may be deposited in the hands of the coroner, clerk of the peace, or magistrate before whom the oath was made, as a public memorial of what the constituent has demanded, and the representative has pledged himself to perform.

1. You shall consent to no supplies, without a previous redress of grievances.

2. You shall promote a law, subjecting each candidate to an oath, against having used bribery, or any other illegal means of compassing his election.

3. You shall promote, to the utmost of your power, a full and equal representation of the people in parliament.

4. You shall endeavor to restore annual parliaments.

5. You shall promote a pension and place-bill, enacting, That any member who receives a place, pension, contract, lottery ticket, or any other emolument whatsoever from the crown, or enjoys profit from any such place, pension, &c. shall not only vacate his seat, but be absolutely ineligible during his continuance under such undue influence.

6. You shall impeach the ministers who advised the violating the right of the

questions, which, in good policy, you should never provoke the people in general to ask themselves. At the same time, sir, I am far from meaning to undervalue the institution of this society. On the contrary, I think the plan was admirable; that it has already been of signal service to the public, and may be of much greater: and I do most earnestly wish, that you would consider of, and promote a plan for forming constitutional clubs all through the kingdom. A measure of this kind would alarm government more, and be of more essential service to the cause, than any thing that can be done relative to new-modelling the house of commons. You see then, that my objections are directed to the particular measure, not to the general institution.

In the consideration of this measure, my first objection goes to the declared purpose of the resolutions, in the terms and mode in which you have described it, viz. *the extermination of corruption*. In *my* opinion, you grasp at the impossible, and *lose the really attainable*. Without plaguing you or myself with a logical argument upon a speculative question, I willingly appeal to your own candor and judgment. Can any man in his senses affirm, that, as things are now circumstanced in this country, it is possible to *exterminate corruption?* Do you seriously think it possible to carry through both houses such a place-bill as you describe in the fifth article; or, supposing it carried, that it would not be evaded? When you talk of contracts

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freeholders in the Middlesex election; and the military murders in St. George's Fields.

7. You shall make strict inquiry into the conduct of judges touching juries.

8. You shall make strict inquiry into the application of the public money.

9 You shall use your utmost endeavors to have the resolution of the house of commons expunged, by which the magistrates of the city of London were arbitrarily imprisoned, for strictly adhering to their charter and their oaths; and also that resolution by which a judicial record was erased to stop the course of justice.

10. You shall attend to the grievances of our fellow-subjects in Ireland, and second the complaints they may bring to the throne.

11. You shall endeavor to restore to America the essential right of taxation by representatives of their own free election; repealing the acts passed in violation of that right, since the year 1763; and the universal excise, so notoriously incompatible with every principle of British liberty, which has been lately substituted, in the colonies, for the laws of customs.

SAVAGE BARRELL, Esq. Chairman.

and lottery tickets, do you think that any human law can really prevent their being distributed and accepted, or do you only intend to mortify *Townshend* and *Harley?* In short, sir, would you, *bona fide*, and as a man of honor, give it for your expectation and opinion, that there is a single county or borough in the kingdom, that will form the declaration recommended to them in these resolutions, and enforce it upon the candidates? For myself, I will tell you freely, not what I *think*, but what I *know;* the resolutions are either totally neglected in the country,* or, if read, are laughed at, and by people who mean as well to the cause as any of us.

With regard to the articles taken separately, I own I am concerned to see that the great condition, which ought to be the *sine qua non* of parliamentary qualification, which ought to be the basis, as it assuredly will be the only support, of every barrier raised in defence of the constitution; I mean *a declation upon oath to shorten the duration of parliaments*, is reduced to the fourth rank in the esteem of the Society, and even in that place, far from being insisted on with firmness and vehemence, seems to have been particularly slighted in the expression, *you shall endeavor to restore annual parliaments.* Are these the terms which men who are in earnest make use of, when the *salus reipublicæ* is at stake! I expected other language from Mr. Wilkes. Besides my objection in point of form, I disapprove highly of the meaning of the fourth article, as it stands:—Whenever the question shall be seriously agitated, I will endeavor (and if I live will assuredly attempt it) to convince the English nation, by arguments, to *my* understanding unanswerable, that they ought to insist upon a triennial, and banish the idea of an annual parliament.

Article I. The terms of the first article would have been very proper a century or two ago, but they are not adapted to the present state of the constitution. The king does not act *directly* either in imposing or redressing *grievances.* We need not *now* bribe the crown to do us justice; and, as to the refusal of supplies, we might punish ourselves indeed, but it would be

* Mr. Horne resided in the country.

no way compulsory upon the king. With respect to his civil list, he is already independent, or might be so, if he has common sense, or common resolution: and as for refusing to vote the army or navy, I hope we shall never be mad enough to try an experiment every way so hazardous. But, in fact, the effort would be infinitely too great for the occasion. All we want is an honest representative, or at least such a one as will have some respect for the constituent body. Formerly the house of commons were compelled to *bargain* with the sovereign. At present they may prescribe their own conditions. So much, in general, for grievances: as to particular grievances, almost all those we complain of are, apparently, the acts either of the lords or the *commons*. The appointment of unworthy ministers, is not strictly a grievance, (that is, a legal subject of complaint to the king) until those ministers are arraigned and convicted in due course of law. If, after that, the king should persist in keeping them in office, it would be a *grievance* in the strict, legal sense of the word, and would undoubtedly justify rebellion according to the forms, as well as the spirit of the constitution. I am far from condemning the late addresses to the throne. They ought to be incessantly repeated. The people, by the singular situation of their affairs, are compelled to do the duty of the house of commons.

Article 2. I object to the second article, because I think that multiplying oaths is only multiplying perjury. Besides this, I am satisfied that, with a triennial parliament (and without it all other provisions are nugatory) Mr. Grenville's bill is, or may be made, a sufficient guard against any gross, or flagrant offences in this way.

Article 3. The terms of the third article are too loose and indefinite to make a distinct or serious impression. That the people are not equally and fully represented is unquestionable. But let us take care what we attempt. We may demolish the venerable fabric we intend to repair; and where is the strength and virtue to erect a better in its stead? I should not for my own part, be so much moved at the corrupt and odious practices, by which inconsiderable men get into parliament: nor even

at the want of a perfect representation, (and certainly nothing can be less reconcileable to the theory, than the present practice of the constitution) if means could be found to compel such men to do their duty (in essentials at least) when they *are* in parliament. Now, sir, I am convinced that, if shortening the duration of parliaments (which in effect is keeping the representative under the rod of the constituent) be not made the basis of our new parliamentary jurisprudence, other checks or improvements signify nothing. On the contrary, if this be made the foundation, other measures may come in aid, and, as auxiliaries, be of considerable advantage. Lord Chatham's project, for instance, of increasing the number of knights of shires, appears to me admirable, and the moment we have obtained a triennial parliament, it ought to be tried. As to cutting away the rotten boroughs, I am as much offended as any man at seeing so many of them under the direct influence of the crown, or at the disposal of private persons, yet I own I have both doubts and apprehensions, in regard to the remedy you propose. I shall be charged, perhaps, with an unusual want of political intrepidity, when I honestly confess to you, that I am startled at the idea of so extensive an amputation. In the first place, I question the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise a number of boroughs upon the general ground of improving the constitution. There cannot be a doctrine more fatal to the liberty and property we are contending for, than that which confounds the idea of a *supreme* and an *arbitrary* legislature. I need not point out to you, the fatal purposes to which it has been, and may be applied. If we are sincere in the political creed we profess, there are many things which we ought to affirm, cannot be done by king, lords, and commons. Among these I reckon the disfranchising a borough with a general view to improvement. I consider it as equivalent to robbing the parties concerned, of their freehold, of their birthright. I say, that although this birthright may be forfeited, or the exercise of it suspended in particular cases, it cannot be taken away by a general law, for any real or pretended purpose of improving the constitution. I believe there is no power in this country to make such a law,

Supposing the attempt made, I am persuaded you cannot mean that either king or lords should take an active part in it. A bill, which only touches the representation of the people, must originate in the house of commons, in the formation and mode of passing it. The exclusive right of the commons must be asserted as scrupulously as in the case of a Money Bill. Now, sir, I should be glad to know by what kind of reasoning it can be proved, that there is a power vested in the representative to destroy his immediate constituent: from whence could he possibly derive it? A courtier, I know, will be ready enough to maintain the affirmative. The doctrine suits him exactly, because it gives an unlimited operation to the influence of the crown. But we, Mr. Wilkes, must hold a different language. It is no answer to me to say, that the bill, when it passes the house of commons, is the act of the majority, and not of the representatives of the particular boroughs concerned. If the majority can disfranchise ten boroughs, why not twenty? Why not the whole kingdom? Why should not they make their own seats in parliament for life? When the Septennial Act passed, the legislature did what apparently and palpably they had no power to do; but they did more than people in general were aware of; they disfranchised the whole kingdom for four years. For argument's sake, I will now suppose, that the expediency of the measure, and the power of parliament, were unquestionable. Still you will find an insurmountable difficulty in the execution. When all your instruments of amputation are prepared—when the unhappy patient lies bound at your feet, without the possibility of resistance, by what infallible rule will you direct the operation? When you propose to cut away the rotten parts, can you tell us what parts are perfectly sound? Are there any certain limits, in fact or theory, to inform you at what point you must stop—at what point the mortification ends? To a man so capable of observation and reflection as you are, it is unnecessary to say all that might be said upon the subject. Besides that I approve highly of lord Chatham's idea of "infusing a portion of new health into the constitution to enable it to bear its infirmities," (a brilliant expression, and full of intrinsic wisdom,) other reasons concur in persuading me to adopt it. I

have no *objection** to paying him *such compliments* as carry a *condition* with them, and either *bind* him *firmly* to the cause, or become the *bitterest reproach* to him if he *deserts it*. Of this last I have not the most distant suspicion. There is another man, indeed, with whose conduct I am not so completely satisfied. Yet even *he*, I think, has not resolution enough to do any thing flagrantly impudent in the face of his country. At the same time that I think it *good policy* to pay those compliments to lord Chatham, which in truth, he has nobly deserved, I should be glad to mortify those contemptible creatures, who call themselves noblemen, whose worthless importance depends entirely upon their influence over boroughs, which cannot be safely diminished, but by increasing the power of the counties at large. Among these men, I cannot but distinguish the meanest of the human species, the whole race of the *Conways*. I have but one word to add,—I would not give representatives to those great trading towns, which have none at present. If the merchant and the manufacturer must be *really* represented, let them become freeholders by their industry, and let the representation of the county be increased. You will find the interruption of business in those towns, by the triennial riot and cabals of an election, too dear a price for the nugatory privilege of sending members to parliament.

The remaining articles will not require a long discussion :—of the fourth and fifth I have spoken already.

Article 6. The measures recommended in the sixth are unexceptionable. My only doubt is, how can an act *apparently* done by the house of commons be fixed, by sufficient legal evidence, upon the duke of Grafton or lord North, of whose

* In the author's edition of the letters, there is subjoined an extract from this letter to Wilkes, ending with, "I have no objection, &c." What immediately followed was not calculated for the public eye, at that time; because it would have exposed the double game played off by Junius in his letter to Horne respecting lord Chatham; and since its publication, it seems to have been passed by without notice, although it completely unveils the hypocrisy practised in this case. The passage in that edition which follows the words quoted above, was not contained in the letter to Wilkes.

guilt I am nevertheless completely satisfied. As for lord Weymouth and lord Barrington, their own letters are a sufficient ground of impeachment.

Article 7. The seventh article is also very proper and necessary. The impeachment of lord Mansfield, upon his own paper is indispensable. Yet suffer me to guard you against the seducing idea of concurring in any vote, or encouraging any bill, which may pretend to ascertain, while in reality it limits the constitutional power of juries. I would have their right, to return a general verdict in all cases whatsoever, considered as a part of the constitution, fundamental, sacred, and no more questionable by the legislature, than whether the government of the country shall be by king, lords, and commons. Upon this point, an Enacting Bill would be pernicious; a Declaratory Bill, to say the best of it, useless.

Article 8. I think the eighth article would be more properly expressed thus: *You shall grant no money, unless for services known to, and approved of, by parliament.* In general the supplies are appropriated, and cannot easily be misapplied. The house of commons are indeed too ready in granting large sums under the head of *extraordinaries incurred, and not provided for.* But the accounts lie before them;—it is their own fault if they do not examine them. The manner in which the late debt upon the civil list was pretended to be incurred, and really paid, demands a particular examination. Never was there a more impudent outrage offered to a patient people.

Article 9. The ninth is indispensable; but I think the matter of it rather fit for instruction than for the declaration you have in view. I am very apprehensive of clogging the declaration, and making it too long.

Articles 10 and 11. In the tenth and eleventh you are very civil to Ireland and America; and if you mean nothing but ostentation, it may possibly answer your purpose. Your care of Ireland is much to be commended. But, I think, in good policy, you may as well complete a reformation at home, before you attempt to carry your improvements to such a distance. Clearing the fountain is the best and shortest way to purify the stream. As to taxing the Americans by their own representa-

tives, I confess I do not perfectly understand you. If you propose that, in the article of taxation, they should hereafter be left to the authority of their respective assemblies, I must own I think you had no business to revive a question which should, and probably would, have lain dormant for ever. If you mean that the Americans should be authorised to send their representatives to the British parliament, I shall be contented with referring you to what Mr. Burke has said upon this subject, and will not venture to add any thing of my own, for fear of discovering an offensive disregard of your opinion. Since the repeal of the Stamp Act, I know of no acts tending to tax the Americans, except that which creates the tea duty; and even that can hardly be called *internal*. Yet it ought to be repealed, as an impolitic act, not as an oppressive one. It preserves the contention between the mother country and the colonies, when every thing worth contending for is in reality given up. When this act is repealed, I presume you will turn your thoughts to the postage of letters: a tax imposed by authority of parliament, and levied in the very heart of the colonies. I am not sufficiently informed upon the subject of that excise, which you say is substituted in North America to the laws of customs, to deliver such an opinion upon it as I would abide by. Yet I can easily comprehend, that admitting the necessity of raising a revenue for the support of government there, any other revenue laws, but those of excise, would be nugatory in such a country as America. I say this with great diffidence as to the point in question, and with a positive protest against any conclusion from America to Great Britain.

If these observations shall appear to deserve the attention of the Society, it is for *them* to consider what use may be made of them. I know how difficult and irksome it is to tread back the steps we have taken; yet, if any part of what I have submitted to you carries reason and conviction with it, I hope that no false shame will influence our friends at the London Tavern.

I do not deny that I expect my opinions upon these points should have some degree of weight with you. I have served Mr. Wilkes, and am still capable of serving him. I have

faithfully served the public, without the possibility of a personal advantage. As Junius, I can never expect to be rewarded.—The secret is too important to be committed to any great man's discretion. If views of interest or ambition could tempt me to betray my own secret, how could I flatter myself that the man I trusted would not act upon the same principles, and sacrifice me at once to the king's curiosity and resentment? Speaking therefore as a disinterested man, I have a claim to your attention. Let my opinions be fairly examined.

JUNIUS.

P. S. As you will probably never hear from me again, I will not omit this opportunity of observing to you, that I am not properly supported in the newspapers.* One would think that all the fools were of the other side of the question. As to myself it is of little moment. I can brush away the swarming insects whenever I think proper. But it is bad policy to let it appear, in any instance, that we have not numbers as well as justice of our side. I wish you would contrive that the receipt of this letter and my last, might be barely acknowledged by a hint in the Public Advertiser.

Letter III.

Prince's Court, Monday, Sep. 9, 1771.

Mr. Wilkes had the honor of receiving from the same gentleman two excellent letters on important subjects, one dated Aug. 21st, the other Sep. 7th. He begs the favor of the author to prescribe the mode of Mr. Wilkes's communicating his answer.

Letter IV.

10 Sept. 1771.

You may intrust Woodfall with a letter for me. Leave the rest to his management.

I expect that you will not enter into any explanation, with him whatsoever.†

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* What had become of his old fellow-laborer, John Horne? He did not use to be idle.

† Mr. Wilkes has written on it, "Received by the penny post."

Letter V. To Junius.

Sep. 12, 1771.

Sir,—I do not mean to indulge the impertinent curiosity of finding out the most important secret of our times, the author of Junius. I will not attempt with profane hands to tear the sacred veil of the sanctuary; I am disposed with the inhabitants of Attica, to erect *an altar to the unknown god* of our political idolatry, and will be content to worship him in clouds and darkness.

This very circumstance, however, deeply embarrasses me. The first letter with which I was honored by Junius, called for a thousand anecdotes of Crosby, Sawbridge, and Townshend, too tedious, too minute, to throw upon paper, which yet must be acted upon, and as he well knows, mark the character of men. Junius has in my idea too favorable sentiments of Sawbridge. I allow him honest, but think he has more mulishness than understanding, more understanding than candour. He is become the absolute dupe of Malagrida's gang. He has declared, that if he was chosen mayor this year, he would not serve the office, but fine, because Townshend ought to be mayor. Such a declaration is certain, and in my opinion it borders on insanity. To me Sawbridge complained the last year that his shrievalty passed in a continual secret cabal of Beckford, Townshend and Horne, without the communication of any thing to him till the moment of execution. Sawbridge has openly acted against us. Our troops will not be brought at present to fight his battles. Mrs. Macauley has warmly espoused the common cause, and severely condemns her brother. Any overtures to Sawbridge, I believe, would have been rejected, perhaps treated with contempt, by not the best bred man in the island. How could I begin a negotiation when I was already pledged to Crosby, who has fed himself with the hope of that and the membership, by which I overcame his natural timidity? Junius sees the confidence I place in him. Could there be a prospect of any cordiality between Sawbridge and the popular party, at least so soon as his mayoralty? I should fear the Mansion House would be besieged, and taken by the banditti

of the Shelburnes. But what I am sure will be decisive to Junius, I was engaged to Crosby before I received the letter of Aug. 21, and I have not since found in him the least inclination to yield the favorite point. The membership of the city is a security to the public for his steadiness in the cause. Surely then it would have been imprudent to have wished a change. My duty to the people only makes me form a wish for Crosby. To make Crosby mayor, it is necessary to return to the court of aldermen another man so obnoxious that it is impossible for them to elect him. Bridgen I take to be this man. While he presided in the city he treated them with insolence, was exceedingly rude and scurrilous to them personally, starved them at the few entertainments he gave, and pocketed the city cash. As he has always voted on the popular side, we are justified to the livery in the recommendation of him, and the rest will be guessed. Crosby will probably be the *locum tenens* of Bridgen, if Bridgen is elected. I wrote the letter on this subject in the Public Advertiser of Sep. 5. The argument there is specious, although my private opinion is, the house of commons will not again fall into that snare. Into another I am satisfied they will. The house of lords too will, I think, furnish a most interesting scene, in consequence of the powers they usurp, and the sheriff means the attack. I wish this great business, as I have projected it, could be unravelled in a letter or two to Junius, but the detail is too long and intricate. How greatly is it to be lamented that the few real friends of the public have so little communication of counsels, so few and only distant means of a reserved intercourse!

I have no where met with more excellent and abundant political matter than in the letter of Junius respecting the Bill of Rights. He ought to know from me, that the American Dr. Lee (the Gazetteer's Junius Americanus) was the author of the too long preamble, articles, &c. They were, indeed, submitted to me on the morning of the day on which they passed, but I made few corrections. I dislike the extreme *verbiage* of every part, and wished the whole put again on the anvil. Sir Joseph Mawbey and I were of opinion to adjourn the business for a reconsideration, but the majority of the

members were too impatient to have something go forth in their names to the public. It would have been highly imprudent in sir Joseph or me to thwart them in so favorite a point, and the substance I indeed greatly approve. At all times I hate taking in other people's foul linen to wash. The Society of the Bill of Rights have been called my committee, and it has been said that they were governed entirely by me. This has spread a jealousy even among my friends. I was therefore necessitated to act the most cautious and prudent part. You cannot always do all the good you wish, and you are sometimes reduced to the necessity of yielding in a particular moment to conciliate the doubtful, the peevish, or the refractory. Junius may be assured that I will warmly recommend the formation of constitutional clubs in several parts of the kingdom. I am satisfied that nothing would more alarm the ministry. I agree that the shortening the duration of parliaments is the first and most important of all considerations, without which all the rest would be nugatory; but I am unhappy to differ with Junius in so essential a point as that of triennial parliaments. They are inadequate to the cure of destroying dependence in the members on the crown. They only lessen not root out corruption, and only reduce the purchase money for an annuity of three instead of seven years. I have a thousand arguments against triennial and in favor of annual parliaments. The question was fairly agitated at the London Tavern, and several of your friends owned that they were convinced. The subject is too copious for a letter. I hope to read Junius's mature and deliberate thoughts on this subject. I own that in the house of commons sound policy would rather favor triennial parliaments as the necessary road to annual, but the constitutional question is different.

I am sorry likewise to differ with Junius as to the power *de jure* of the legislature to disfranchise any boroughs. How originated the right, and why was it granted? Old Sarum and Gatton, for instance, were populous places, when the right of representation was first given them. They are now desolate, and therefore in every thing should return to their former state. A barren mountain or a single farm-house can have no repre-

sentation in parliament. I exceedingly approve lord Chatham's idea of increasing the number of knights of shires. If parliaments are not annual, I should not disapprove of a third part of the legislative body going out every year by ballot, and of consequence an annual re-election in part.

I am so much harrassed with business at present, that I have not time to mention many particulars of importance, and these three days I have had the shivering fits of a slow lurking fever, a strange disorder for Wilkes, which makes writing painful to me. I could plunge the patriot dagger in the heart of the tyrant of my country, but my hand would now tremble in doing it. In general I enjoy settled confirmed health, to which I have for some years paid great attention, chiefly from public views.

I am *satisfied* that Junius now *means me well*, and I wish to merit more than his *regard* his *friendship*. He has *poured balm* into my *wounds*, the deepest of which I *sigh* when I recollect, were made by that now *friendly hand*. I am always ready to *kiss his rod*, but I hope its destination is changed, and that it will never again fall *as heavy* upon me as towards the conclusion of the year 1769, when Thurlow said sneeringly, the government prosecuted Junius out of compliment to Wilkes. I warmly wish Junius my friend. As a public man I think myself secure of his support, for I will only depend on popular favor, and pursue only the true constitutional points of liberty. As a private person I figure to myself that Junius is as amiable in the private as he is great in the public walk of life. I now live very much at home, happy in the elegant society of a sensible daughter, whom Junius has noticed in the most obliging manner.

I have not had a moment's conversation with Woodfall on the subject of our correspondence, nor did I mean to mention it to him. All he can guess, will be from the following card, which I shall send by my servant with this letter. "Mr. Wilkes, presents his compliments to Mr. Woodfall, and desires him to direct and forward the enclosed to Junius." After the first letter of Junius to me, I did not go to Woodfall to pry into a secret I had no right to know. The letter itself bore the stamp of Jove. I was neither doubting nor impertinent. I wish to comply with every

direction of Junius, to profit by his hints, and to have the permission of writing to him on any important occasion. I desire to assure him, that in all great public concerns, I am perfectly free from every personality either of dislike or affection. The Stoic apathy is then really mine.

Lord Chatham said to me ten years ago, "* * * * * * * is the falsest hypocrite in Europe." I must hate the man as much as even Junius can, for through this whole reign almost it has been * * * * * * * * * *versus* *Wilkes*. This conduct will probably make it *Wilkes versus* * * * * * * * * * *.† Junius must imagine that no man in the island feels what he writes on that occasion more than I do.

This letter is an emanation of the heart, not an effort of the head. It claims attention from the honest zeal and sincerity of the writer, whose affection for his country will end only with his life.

JOHN WILKES.

Letter VI. To John Willes, Esq.‡

London, 18th September, 1771.

Sir,—Your letter of the 12th instant was carefully conveyed to me. I am much flattered, as you politely intended I should be, with the worship you are pleased to pay to the *unknown god* of politics. I find I am treated as other gods usually are by their votaries, with sacrifice and ceremony in abundance, and very little obedience. The profession of your faith is unexceptionable; but I am a modest deity, and should be full as well satisfied with good works and morality.

There is a rule in business that would save much time if it were generally adopted. *A question once decided is no longer a subject of argument.* You have taken your resolution about the mayoralty. What I have now to say is not meant to alter it, but, in perfect good humour, to guard you against some inconveniences, which may attend the execution. It is your own affair, and though I still think you have chosen injudiciously, both for yourself and for the public, I have no right to find fault

† The first blank is intended for George—the other two for George Rex.—*Am. Ed.*

‡ Written on by him "Received Monday afternoon, September 18, 1771."

or to tease you with reflections, which cannot divert you from your purpose.

I cannot comprehend the reason of Mr. Crosby's eagerness to be lord mayor, unless he proposes to disgrace the office and himself by pocketing the salary. In that case he will create a disgust among the citizens, of which you and your party will feel the bad effects, and as for himself, he may bid adieu to all hopes of being returned for the city. That he should live with unusual splendor is essentially your interest and his own; and even then I do not perceive that his merits are so distinguished as to entitle him to a double reward. Of the dignity or authority of a *locum tenens*, I know nothing; nor can I conceive what credit Mr. Crosby is likely to derive from representing Mr. Bridgen. But suppose Bridgen should be lord mayor, and should keep his word in appointing Crosby his lieutenant. I should be glad to know who is to support the expense and dignity of the office? It may suit such a fellow as Bridgen to shut up the Mansion-house, but I promise you his economy will be of no service to Mr. Wilkes. If you make him mayor, you will be made answerable for his conduct: and if he and Crosby be returned, you may depend upon it, the court of aldermen will choose him.

With regard to Mr. Sawbridge, since I cannot prevail with you to lay the foundation of a closer union between you by any positive sacrifice in his favor, at least let me entreat you to observe a moderate and guarded conduct towards him. I should be much concerned to see his character traduced, or his person insulted. He is not a dupe to any set of men whatsoever, nor do I think he has taken any violent or decided part against you.—Yet to be excluded from those honors which are the only rewards he pretends to, and to which he is so justly entitled, and to see them bestowed upon such men as *Crosby* and *Bridgen*, is enough to excite and justify his resentment. All this, sir, is a matter of convenience, which I hope you will consider. There is another point, upon which I must be much more serious and earnest with you. You seem to have no anxiety or apprehension but lest the friends of lord Shelburne should get possession of the Mansion-house. In my opinion

they have no chance of success whatsoever. The real danger is from the interest of government, from Harley, and the Tories.—If while you are employed in counteracting Mr. Townshend, a ministerial alderman should be returned, you will have ruined the cause.—You will have ruined yourself, and for ever. To say that Junius could never forgive you, is nothing:—you could never forgive yourself.—Junius from that moment will be compelled to consider you as a man who has sacrificed the public to views which were every way unworthy of you. If then, upon a fair canvass of the livery, you should see a probability that Bridgen may not be returned, let that point be given up at once, and let *Sawbridge* be returned with *Crosby*:—a more likely way in *my* judgment to make *Crosby* lord mayor.

Nothing can do you greater honor, nor be of greater benefit to the community, than your intended attack upon the unconstitutional powers assumed by the house of lords. You have my warmest applause; and if I can assist, command my assistance. The arbitrary power of fine and imprisonment, assumed by these men, would be a disgrace to any form of legal government not purely *aristocratical*.—Directly, it invades the laws, indirectly, it saps the constitution. Naturally phlegmatic,* these questions warm me.—I envy you the laurels you will acquire. Banish the thought that Junius can make a dishonorable or an imprudent use of the confidence you repose in him. When you have leisure, communicate your plan to me, that I may have time to examine it, and to consider what part I can act with greatest advantage to the cause. The constitutional argument is obvious. I wish you to point out to me where you think the force of the *formal legal* argument lies. In pursuing such inquiries I lie under a singular disadvantage. Not venturing to consult those who are qualified to inform me, I am forced to collect every thing from books or common conversation. The pains I took with that paper on privilege, were greater than I can express to you. Yet after I had blinded myself with poring over journals, debates, and parliamentary his-

* This was a charge frequently brought against Horne by Wilkes, which, no doubt, caused this remark by the writer.

tory, I was at last obliged to hazard a bold assertion, which I am now convinced is true (as I really then thought it,) because it has not been disproved or disputed.—There is this material difference upon the face of the two questions. We can clearly show a time when the lower house had not an unlimited power of commitment for breach of privilege. Whereas I fear we shall not have the same advantage over the house of lords. It it is not that precedents have any weight with me in opposition to principles: but I know they weigh with the multitude."

My opinion of the several articles of the proposed declaration remains unaltered. I cannot pretend to answer those arguments in favor of annual parliaments, by which you say the friends of Junius were convinced. The question is not what is best in theory (for there I should undoubtedly agree with you,) but what is most expedient in practice. You labor to carry the constitution to a point of perfection which it can never reach to, or at which it cannot long be stationary. In this idea I think I see the mistake of a speculative man, who is either not conversant with the world, or not sufficiently persuaded of the necessity of taking things *as they are*. The objection drawn from the purchase of an annuity for *three* years instead of *seven*, is defective, because it applies in the same proportion to an annuity for one year. This is not the question. The point is to keep the representative as much under the check and control of the constituent, as can be done, consistently with other great and essential objects. But without entering farther into the debate, I would advise, that this part of the declaration be expressed in general terms; viz. to shorten the duration of parliaments. This mediating expedient will, for the present, take in both opinions, and leave open the *quantum* of time to a future discussion.

In answer to a general argument, by which the uncontrollable right of the people to form the third part of the legislature is defended, you urge against me two gross cases, which undoubt-

[a] Mr. Horne, in addressing the jury on his trial, in 1777, for an alleged libel against the government, said, "I have laid before you sacred principles with which I am much better acquainted than with any precedents—and for one of which I would willingly give up all the precedents that ever existed."

edly call for correction. These cases, you may believe, did not escape me, and by the by, admit of a particular answer. But it is not treating me fairly to oppose general principles with particular abuses. It is not in human policy to form an institution from which no possible inconvenience shall arise. I did not pretend to deliver a doctrine, to which there could be no possible objection. We are to choose between better and worse. Let us come fairly to the point.—Whether is it safer to deny the legislature a power of disfranchising all the electors of a borough; (which, if denied, entails a number of rotten boroughs upon the constitution)—or to *admit* the power, and so leave it with the legislature to disfranchise *ad arbitrium* every borough and county in the kingdom. If you deny the consequence, it will be incumbent upon you to prove by *positive* reasoning that a power which holds in the case of Aylesbury or New Shoreham, *does not* hold in the case of York, London, or Middlesex. To this question I desire a direct answer: and when we have fixed our principles, we may regularly descend to the detail. The case of Gatton and Old Sarum do not embarrass me. Their right to return members to parliament has neither fact or theory to support it.—"They have, *bona fide*, no electors." Consequently there is no man to be dispossessed of his freehold. No man to be disfranchised of his right of election. At the worst, supposing the annihilation of these pretended boroughs could no way be reconciled to my own principles, I shall only say, give me a healthy, vigorous constitution, and I shall hardly consult my looking-glass to discover a blemish upon my skin.

You ask me, from whence did the right originate, and for what purpose was it granted? I do not see the tendency of these questions, but I answer them without scruple. In general it arose from the king's writs, and it was granted with a view to balance the power of the nobility, and to obtain aids from the people.'—But without looking back to an obscure antiquity, from which no certain information can be collected, you will find that the laws of England have much greater regard to possession (of a certain length) than to any other title whatsoever: and that in every kind of property which savours of the

reality this doctrine is most wisely the basis of our English jurisprudence. Though I use the terms of art, do not injure me so much as to suspect I am a lawyer.—I had as lief be a Scotchman.—It is the encouragement given to disputes about titles, which has supported that iniquitous profession at the expense of the community.—As to this whole argument about rotten boroughs, if I seem zealous in supporting my opinion, it is not from a conception that the constitution cannot possibly be relieved from them—I mean only to reconcile you to an evil which cannot safely be removed.

Now, Mr. Wilkes, I shall deal very plainly with you. The subject of my first letter was private and personal, and I am content it should be forgotten. Your letter to *me* is also sacred. But my second letter is of public import, and must not be suppressed. I did not mean that it should be buried in Prince's Court. It would be unfair to embarrass you with a new question while your city election is depending. But if I perceive that within a reasonable time after that business is concluded, no steps are taken with the Bill of Rights to form a new, short, and rational declaration (whether by laying my letter before the society, or by any other mode that you shall think advisable,) I shall hold myself obligated, by a duty paramount to all other considerations, to institute an amicable suit against the society before the tribunal of the public. Without asperity, without petulance or disrespect, I propose to publish the second letter, and to answer or submit to argument. The necessity of taking this step will indeed give me pain, for I *well know* that *differences* between the advocates are of no *service* to the *cause*.[1] But the lives of the best of us are spent in choosing between evils.—As to you, sir, you may as well take the trouble of directing that society, since whatever they do is placed to your account.

The domestic society you speak of is much to be envied. I fancy I should like it still better than you do. I too am no enemy to good fellowship, and have often cursed that *canting*

[1] This had been duly exemplified by the previous [illegible] —*Am. Ed.*

parson for wishing to deny you your claret. It is for *him*, and men like *him*, to beware of intoxication.* Though I do not place the little pleasure of life in competition with the glorious business of instructing and directing the people, yet I see no reason why a wise man may not unite the public virtues of Cato, with the indulgence of Epicurus.

Continue careful of your health. Your head is too useful to be spared, and your hand may be wanted. Think no more of what is past. You did not then stand so well in my opinion; and it was necessary to the plan of that letter to rate you lower than you deserved. The wound is curable, and the scar shall be no disgrace to you.

I willingly accept of as much of your friendship as you can impart, to a man whom you will assuredly never know. Besides every personal consideration, if I were known, I could no longer be a useful servant to the public. At present there is something oracular in the delivery of my opinions. I speak from a recess which no human curiosity can penetrate, and darkness, we are told, is one source of the sublime.—The mystery of Junius increases his importance.

JUNIUS.

Letter VII.

Prince's Court, Thursday, Sep. 19.

Mr. Wilkes thanks Mr. Woodfall for the care of the former letter, and desires him to transmit the enclosed to Junius.

To Junius.

Sep. 19, 1771.

Sir,—I had last night the honor of your letter of yesterday's date. I am just going to the Common Hall, but first take up the pen to thank you for the kindness you express to me, and to say that the Bill of Rights meet next Tuesday. I thought it necessary not to lose a moment in giving you this information, that whatever you judge proper may be submitted to that so-

* *Parson Horne.* He had, with more propriety, been denominated the *cardinal* priest, from his attachment to cards. It is surprising that the grossness of the allusion had not convinced Wilkes of the joke.—*Am. Ed.*

ciety as early as possible. Junius may command me in every thing. When he says "my second letter is of public import, and must not be suppressed. I did not mean that it should be buried in Prince's Court,"—does he wish it should be communicated to the society, and in what manner? The beginning of the second letter refers to a first letter, and some other expressions may be improper for the knowledge of the society. I wait Junius's directions. I beg his free sentiments on all occasions. I mean next week to state a variety of particulars for his consideration and in answer to his letter. I had now only a moment to mention a point of business and a feeling of gratitude.

JOHN WILKES.

Letter VIII.

21 September, 1771.*

Sir,—Since you are so obliging as to say, you will be guided by my opinion as to the manner of laying my sentiments before the Bill of Rights, I see no reason why the whole of the second letter may not be read there next Tuesday, except the postscript, which has no connection with the rest, and the word ridiculous, which may naturally give offence;—as I mean to persuade and soften, not irritate or offend, let that word be expunged. The prefatory part you may leave or not as you think proper. You are not bound to satisfy any man's curiosity upon a *private* matter, and upon my silence you may, I believe, depend entirely. As to other passages I have no favor or affection, so let all go. It should be copied over in a better hand.

If any objections are raised, which are answered in my third letter, you will, I am sure, answer for me, so far forth, *ore tenus*.

JUNIUS.

By all means let it be copied.—This manuscript is for private use only.

Letter IX.

Monday.†

Sir,—When I wrote to you on Saturday, it did not occur to

* Written on it by Mr. Wilkes, "Received Sept. 21, 1771."

† Written on it by Mr. Wilkes, "Received Sept. 23, 1771."

me that your own advertisement had already informed the public of your receiving two letters; your omitting the preamble to the second letter would therefore be to no purpose.

In my opinion you should not wish to decline the appearance of being particularly addressed in that letter. *It is calculated to give you dignity with the public.* There is more in it than perhaps you are aware of. *Depend upon it*, the perpetual union of *Wilkes* and *mob* does you no service. Not but that I love and esteem the mob.—It is your interest to keep up dignity and gravity besides. I would not make myself cheap by walking the streets so much as you do. *Verbum sat.*

Letter X. To Junius.

Wednesday, Sept. 25.

Sir,—Yesterday I attended the meeting of the Society of the Bill of Rights, and laid before them the letter, which I had the honor of receiving from you on the 7th of September. The few lines of the preamble I omitted, the word *ridiculous*, according to your directions, and a very few more lines towards the conclusion. All the rest was a faithful transcript, the exact *tenor*.* The season of the year occasioned the meeting to be ill attended: only eleven members were present. The following resolution passed unanimously: "That Mr. Wilkes be desired to transmit to Junius the thanks of the Society for his letter, and to assure him, that it was received with all the respect due to his distinguished character and abilities." Soon after my fever obliged me to return home, and I have not heard of any thing further being done; but Mr. Lee told me he thought the letter capable of a full answer, which he meant on a future day, to submit to the Society, and would previously communicate to me. The letter

* When Mr. Wilkes was prosecuted in the year 1764, for publishing the North Briton, No. 45, Lord Mansfield issued an order for Mr. Wilkes's attorney or solicitor to attend at his house, on the morning previous to the trial, "to show cause why the information in this cause should not be amended by striking out the word *purport*, in the several places where it is mentioned in the said information, (except in the first place) and inserting, instead thereof, the word *tenor*." The Chief Justice was accused of having suggested this alteration, and several objections were taken to it, which, in argument, were overruled by the court.

is left in the hands of Mr. Reynolds, who has the care of the other papers of the Society, with directions to permit every member to peruse, and even transcribe it, on the promise of non-publication. Some particular expressions appeared rather too harsh and grating to the ears of some of the members.

Surely, sir, nothing in the advertisement I inserted in the Public Advertiser, could lead to the idea of the two letters I mentioned coming from Junius. I entreat him to peruse once more, that guarded advertisement. I hope that Mr. Bull's, and my address of Saturday, was approved where I most desire it should be thought of favorably. I know it made our enemies wince in the most tender part. I am too ill to-day to add more.

JOHN WILKES.

Letter XI.

16th October, 1771.

Sir,—I cannot help expressing to you my thanks and approbation of your letter of this day. I think it proper, manly, and to the purpose. In these altercations nothing can be more useful, than to preserve dignity and *sang froid—fortiter in re, suaviter in modo*, increases both the force and the severity. Your conduct to Mr. Sawbridge is every thing I could wish. Be assured, you will find it both honorable and judicious. Had it been adopted a little sooner, you might have returned him and Crosby, and taken the whole merit of it to yourself. If I am truly informed of Mr. S.'s *behaviour on the hustings*, I must confess it does not *satisfy me*. But perseverance, management, and determined good humour, will set every thing right, and, in the end, *break the heart of Mr. Horne.*[*] Nothing can be more true than what you say about *great men*. They are indeed a worthless, pitiful race. Chatham has gallantly thrown away the scabbard, and never flinched. From that moment *I began* to like him.

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[*] It appears that Mr. Sawbridge could not play well the part of the *hypocrite*, and did not, according to instructions, sufficiently conceal his disrespect and opposition to Wilkes. Junius however, consoles Wilkes by assurances that *perseverance, management*, &c. would set every thing right, and in the end, *break* the *heart* of Mr. Horne! Risum teneatis? This wretched finesse is too quaint and palpable for comment.—*Am. Ed.*

I see we do not agree about the strict right of pressing. If you are as sincere as I am, we shall not quarrel about a difference of opinion. I shall say a few words to-morrow on this subject, under the signature of Philo-Junius.—The letters under that name have been hastily drawn up, but the principles are tenable. I thought your letter about the military very proper and well drawn. JUNIUS.

To the foregoing letter Mr. Woodfall subjoins the following remarks and extracts:

This, (Wilkes's letter) was a long address to the livery of London, in his own defence, from an attack which had been made upon him by Mr. Alderman Townshend. We shall extract such parts of it as are more particularly alluded to by Junius in this letter.

"Mr. Townshend asks, 'Does he (Mr. Wilkes) allow one man in the court of aldermen to be worthy of your confidence, except himself and Mr. Crosby?' Let me state the question about Mr. Sawbridge. Mr. Wilkes has declared under his hand, in all the public papers, 'No man can honor Mr. Sawbridge more than I do, for *every public* and private *virtue*, which constitutes *a great* and amiable *character*.' Was this praise cold or penurious? Was it not deserving a better return than it seems to have found? Is not such a character *worthy of your confidence?*"

"Mr. Morris told us at the Bill of Rights, that when he pressed Mr. Townshend about the affair of the printers, his answer was, that he did not find he should be supported by any *great man*, and otherwise it would be *imprudent*, therefore did not choose to act in it. The *prudent Mr. Townshend* may wait the consent of *great men*. I will on a national call follow instantly the line of my duty, regardless of their applause or censure. Public spirit and virtue are seldom in the company of his lordship or his grace." * * * * * *

"Has not, by the conduct of your magistrates, a complete victory been gained over the usurped powers both of the crown and the house of commons? The two questions have been frequently agitated among the friends of liberty, even while I

remained at the King's Bench. When the city and the nation had clearly decided in favor of the cause, the *great men* followed, as they generally do, joined the public cry, and thronged to the Tower to pay their tardy tribute of praise to the persecuted patriots. The business had been completed without their assistance. In all such cases I am persuaded we shall find, that the people will be obliged to do their own business; but if it succeeds, they may be sure of the concurrence and applause of the *great*, and their even entering the most loathsome prisons or dungeons—on a short visit of parade."

"As a good Englishman and citizen, I thanked my brethren Sawbridge and Oliver, for having so nobly discharged their duty as aldermen in the business of Press Warrants, on which I expatiated as the most cruel species of General Warrants." Mr. Wilkes's letter of Oct. 15.

Shortly previous to Messrs. Wilkes and Bull entering upon their office of sheriffs of London, they addressed a short letter to the livery, containing a paragraph respecting the military, of which the following is a copy:

"We have observed with the deepest concern, that a military force has, on several late occasions, been employed by an unprincipled administration, under the pretence of assisting the civil power in carrying the sentence of the laws into execution. The conduct of the present sheriffs, in the remarkable case of the two unhappy men who suffered in July, near Bethnal Green, was truly patriotic. We are determined to follow so meritorious an example; and as that melancholy part of our office will commence in a very few days, we take this opportunity of declaring, that as the constitution has entrusted us with the whole power of the county, we will not, during our sheriffalty, suffer any part of the army to interfere, or even to attend, as on many former occasions, on the pretence of aiding or assisting the civil magistrate. This resolution we declare to the public, and to administration, to prevent during our continuance in office, the sending of any detachments from the regular forces on such a service, and the possibility of all future alarming disputes. The civil power of this country we are sure is able to support itself and a good government. The magistrate, with

the assistance of those in his jurisdiction, is by experience known to be strong enough to enforce all legal commands, without the aid of a standing army. Where that is not the case, a nation must sink into an absolute military government, and every thing valuable to the subject be at the mercy of the soldiery and their commander. We leave to our brave countrymen of the army the glory of conquering our foreign enemies. We pledge ourselves to the public for the faithful and exact discharge of our duty in every emergency without their assistance. We desire to save them a service we know they detest, and we take on ourselves the painful task of those unpleasing scenes, which our office calls upon us to superintend. The laws of our country shall, in all instances during our sheriffalty, be solely enforced by the authority and vigor of the civil magistrate."

Letter XII.

Oct. 17, 1771.

Sir,—I am not yet recovered, and to-day have been harassed with complaints against the greatest villains out of hell, the bailiffs; but so very polite and friendly a letter as Junius's of yesterday demands my earliest and warmest acknowledgments. I only take up the pen to say that I think myself happy in his approbation, that a line of applause from him gives the same brisk circulation to my spirits, as a kiss from Chloe, and that I mean soon to communicate to him a project of importance.—I will skirmish with the great almost every day in some way or other. Does Junius approve the following manœuvre, instead of going in a gingerbread chariot to yawn through a dull sermon at St. Paul's.

"Old Bailey, Oct. 24th, 1771.

"Mr. sheriff Wilkes presents his duty to the lord mayor, and asks his lordship's leave to prefer the real service of his country to-morrow in the administration of justice here, to the vain parade on the anniversary of the accession of a prince, under whose inauspicious government an universal discontent prevails among the people, and who still leaves the most intolerable grievances of his subjects unredressed."—This card to be published at length. Will Junius suggest any alteration or addition?

It is a bold step.—The sessions will not be ended on the 25th, and it is the duty of the sheriff to attend. I will follow all your hints about Mr. Sawbridge.—I am sorry to differ so much from you about Press Warrants. I own that I have warmly gone through that opposition upon the clear conviction that every argument alleged for the legality of the Press Warrant would do equally well for ship money. I believe Junius as sincere as myself, I will therefore be so far from quarrelling with him for any difference of opinion, that when I find we disagree, I will act with double caution, and some distrust of the certainty of my being clearly in the right.

I hope the sheriff's letter to Mr. Ackerman has your approbation. Does Junius wish for any dinner or ball tickets for the lord mayor's day, for himself, or friends, or a favorite, or Junia? The day will be worth observation. Whether *cretâ an carbone notandus*.* I do not know; but *the people, sir, the people, are the sight.* How happy should I be to see my Portia here dance a graceful minuet with *Junius Brutus!* But Junius is inexorable and I submit. I would send your tickets to Woodfall.

To-morrow I go with the lord mayor and my brother sheriff to Rochester to take up our freedoms. We return on Sunday night.

I entreat of Junius to favor me with every idea, which occurs to him for the common cause, in *every particular* relative to my *conduct*. He shall find me no *less grateful* than *ductile*.

JOHN WILKES.

Letter XIII.

London, 21 October, 1771.

Many thanks for your obliging offer;—but alas! my age and figure would do but little credit to my partner.—I acknowledge the relation between Cato and Portia, but in truth I see no connexion between Junius and a minuet.

You shall have my opinion whenever you think proper to ask it, *freely*, *honestly*, and *heartily*. If I were only a *party man*, I

* To be marked with chalk or charcoal.—*Am. Ed.*

should naturally concur in any enterprise, likely to create a bustle without risque or trouble to myself. But I love the cause independent of persons, and I *wish well* to Mr. Wilkes *independent of the cause.** Feeling, as I really do, for others where my own safety is provided for, the danger to which I expose a simple printer, afflicts and distresses me. It lowers me to myself to draw another into a hazardous situation which I cannot partake of with him. This consideration will account for my abstaining from * * * * * * * * * † so long, and for the undeserved moderation with which I have treated him. I know my ground thoroughly when I affirm that *he alone* is the mark. It is not Bute, nor even the princess dowager. It is ———, whom every honest man should detest, and every brave man should attack. Some measures of dignity and prudence must nevertheless be preserved for our own sakes. I think your intended message to the lord mayor is more spirited than judicious, and that it may be attended with consequences which (compared with the single purpose of ———) are not worth hazarding—*non est tanti*—consider it is not Junius or Jack Wilkes, but a grave sheriff (for *grave* you should be) who marks his entrance into office with a direct outrage to the ——— that it is only an outrage, and leads to nothing.—Will not courtiers take advantage? Will not Whigs be offended? And whether offended or not, will not all parties pretend to condemn you? If *measures and not men* has *any* meaning (and I own it has very little,) it must hold particularly in the case of ———: and if truth and reason be on one side, and all the common-place topics on the other, can you doubt to which side the multitude will incline? Besides that it is too early to begin this kind of attack, I confess I am anxious for your safety. I know that in the ordinary course of law they cannot hurt you: but did the idea of a bill of banishment never occur to you? And don't

* This declaration is belied by the whole course of Junius in regard to Wilkes. But the *soft*, the *ductile*, and *grateful* Mr. Wilkes appears to have surrendered at discretion, and committed himself entirely to the management of a man who heartily despised and detested him.—*Am. Ed.*

† George Rex.—*Am. Ed.*

you think a demonstration of this kind on your part might furnish government with a specious pretence for destroying you at once, by a summary proceeding! Consider the measure coolly and then determine.

If these loose thoughts should not weigh with you as much as I could wish, I would then recommend a little alteration in the message. I would have it stated thus:—

Prince's Court, 24 October, 1771.

"Mr. Wilkes presents his duty to the lord mayor, and flatters himself he shall be honored with his lordship's approbation, if he prefers the real service of his country to-morrow in the administration of justice at the Old Bailey, to the vain parade of a procession to St. Paul's.—With the warmest attachment to the house of Hanover, and the most determined allegiance to the chief magistrate, he hopes it will not be thought incumbent on him to take an active part in celebrating the accession of a prince, under whose inauspicious reign the English constitution has been grossly and deliberately violated, the civil rights of the people no less daringly invaded, and their humble petitions for redress rejected with contempt."

In the first part, *to ask a man's leave to prefer the real service of our country to a vain parade*, seems, if serious, too servile; —if jest, unseasonable, and rather approaching to burlesque.— The rest appears to me not less strong than your own words, and better guarded in point of safety, which you neglect too much.—I am now a little hurried, and shall write to you shortly upon some other topics. JUNIUS.*

* The cause of omissions in this letter is accounted for in a letter from Mr. Sergeant Rough to Mr. Barker.

Sergeant's Inn, Chancery-lane, April 12, 1827.

"Dear sir,—I hasten to acknowledge your letter, with the printed papers accompanying it, delivered by Mr. Maxon. I am sorry, however, that I can render you so very little service in respect of the subjects on which you write.

"The letters of Junius to Mr. Wilkes passed through my hands to Mr. Wood fall, and are those which appear in his edition of 1812. They belonged to Mr P. Elmsley, the late Principal of St. Alban's, who, as I believe, possessed them as executor to his father. His knowledge of me as a brother-Westminster with me and the circumstance of my having married an acknowledged daughter of

Letter XIV.

Prince's Court, Monday Morning, Nov. 4.

On my return home last night I had the very great pleasure of reading the Dedication and Preface which Mr. Woodfall left for me. I am going with the city officers to invite the little great to the custard on Saturday. *Perditur hoc inter misero lux.* I shall only add, *accepi, legi, probavi.* I am much honored by the polite attention of Junius.*

Letter XV.

6 November, 1771.

I entreat you to procure for me copies of the informations against Eyre before the lord mayor. I presume they were taken in writing. If not I beg you will favor me with the most exact account of the substance of them, and any observations of your own that you think material. If I am right in my facts, I answer for my law, and mean to attack lord Mansfield as soon as possible.

My American namesake is plainly a man of abilities, though I think a little unreasonable, when he insists upon more than an absolute surrender of the fact. I agree with him that it is a hardship on the Americans to be taxed by the British legislature; but it is a hardship inseparable in theory from the condition of colonists, in which they have voluntarily placed themselves. If emigration be no crime to deserve punishment, it is certainly no virtue to claim exemption; and however it may have proved eventually beneficial, the mother country was but

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Mr. Wilkes, induced him to decline letting Mr. Woodfall have them without my assent. They came to me from my friend, Mr. Hallam, to whom they were afterwards returned for Mr. Elmsley.

"In the letters, I fear, I have to answer for the striking out of a line or two, in which the late king was spoken of, upon alleged personal knowledge, with an expression of much bitterness. It was an idle precaution on my part, inasmuch as Junius's opinions could have done little harm to any one, and were sufficiently avowed in other letters. I have never seen the letters, about which you enquire, *since* they were given back by me to Mr. Hallam, for Elmsley."

* Upon this letter was written by Mr. Wilkes, "On returning Junius the Dedication and Preface he sent me."

little obliged to the intentions of the first emigrants. But, in fact, change of place does not exempt from subjection:—the members of our factories settled under foreign governments, and whose voluntary banishment is much more laudable with regard to the mother country, are taxed with the laws of consulage. *Au reste*, I see no use in fighting this question in the newspapers, nor have I time. You may assure Dr. Lee, that to *my* heart and understanding the names of American and Englishmen are synonymous, and that as to any future taxation of America, I look upon it as near to impossible as the highest improbability can go.

I hope that since he has opposed me where he thinks me wrong, he will be equally ready to assist me when he thinks me right. Besides the fallibility natural to us all, no man writes under so many disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned. I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers I never am assisted.

Those who are conversant with books, well know how often they mislead us, when we have not a living monitor at hand to assist us in comparing practice with theory.

LETTER XVI. TO JUNIUS.

Prince's Court, Wednesday, Nov. 6.

SIR,—I do not delay a moment giving you the information you wish. I enclose a copy of Eyre's commitment. Nothing else in this business has been reduced to writing. The examination was before the sitting justice, Alderman Hallifax, at Guildhall; and it is not usual to take it in writing, on account of the multiplicity of business there. The paper was found upon him. He was asked what he had to say in his defence, his answer was, I hope you will bail me. Mr. Holder the clerk, answered, that is impossible. There never was an instance of it, when the person was taken in the fact, or the goods found upon him. I believe Holder's law is right. Alderman Hallifax likewise granted a search-warrant prior to the examination. At Eyre's lodgings many more quires of paper were found, all marked on purpose, from a suspicion of Eyre. After Eyre had been some time at Wood-street Compter, a key was found

in his room there, which appears to be a key to the closet at Guildhall, from whence the paper was stolen. The lord mayor refused to bail Eyre, but I do not find that any fresh examination was taken at the Mansion-house. The circumstances were well known. I was present at the examination before Hallifax, but as sheriff could not interfere, only I whispered Hallifax he could not bail Eyre. *Anglus* in to-day's Public Advertiser, told some particulars I had mentioned. I did not know of that letter; it is Mr. Bernard's of Berkley Square. As to the Americans, I declare I know no difference between an inhabitant of Boston in Lincolnshire, and of Boston in New England. I honor the Americans: but our ancestors who staid and drove out the tyrant, are justly greater in merit and fame than those who fled and deserted their countrymen. Their future conduct has been a noble atonement, and their sons have much surpassed them. I will mention to Dr. Lee what you desire. You shall have every communication you wish from me. Yet I beg Junius to reflect a moment. To whom am I now writing? I am all doubt and uncertainty, though not mistrust or suspicion. I should be glad to canvass freely every part of a great plan. I dare not write it to a man I do *not know*, of *whose connections* I am *totally ignorant*. I differ with Junius in one point: I think by being concealed he has infinite advantages which I want. I am on the Indian coast, where, from the fire kindled round me, I am marked out to every hostile arrow which knows its way to me. Those who are in the dark are safe, from the want of direction of the pointless shaft.* I followed Junius's advice about the card on the anniversary of the King's accession. I dropped the idea. I wish to know his sentiments about certain projects against the usurped powers of the house of lords. The business is too vast to write, too hazardous to communicate to an unknown person. Junius will forgive me.

* Mr. Wilkes evidently began to be alarmed. Some passages in one of the public letters of Junius, printed a little before, were sufficient to awaken suspicion, if the grossness of some of the remarks in the letters to Wilkes himself had not already produced that effect. I shall insert a few of these passages at the close of this correspondence. Junius, it will be perceived, took leave of his *friend* Wilkes in his next letter written three days after the above.—*Im. Ed.*

What can be done?—" Alas!" where is the man after all Wilkes has experienced, in whose friendly bosom he can repose his secret thoughts, his noble but most dangerous designs? The person most capable he can have no access to, and all others he will not trust. I stand alone, *isolé* as the French call it, a single column unpropped, and perhaps nodding to its fall.

JOHN WILKES.

Letter XVII.

9 November, 1771.

I am much obliged to you for your information about Eyre. The facts are as I understood them, and, with the blessing of God, I will pull Mansfield to the ground.

Your offer to communicate your plan against the lords was voluntary. Do now as you think proper. I have no resentments but against the common enemy, and will assist you in any way that you will suffer yourself to be assisted. When you have satisfied your understanding that there may be reasons why Junius should attack the king, the minister, the court of king's bench, and the house of commons, in the way that I have done, and yet should desert or betray the man who attacks the house of lords, I would still appeal to your heart. Or if you have any scruples about that kind of evidence, ask that amiable daughter whom you so implicitly confide in—*Is it possible that Junius should betray me?* Do not conceive that I solicit new employment. I am overcome with the slavery of writing.

Farewell.

Letter XVIII. To Junius.

Prince's Court, Jan. 15, 1772.

A necessary attention to my health engrossed my time entirely in the few holidays I spent at Bath, and I am rewarded with being perfectly recovered. The repairs of the clay cottage, to which I am tenant for life, seem to have taken place very successfully: and the building will probably last a few more years in tolerable condition.

Yesterday I met the supporters of the Bill of Rights at the London Tavern. Much discourse passed about the publication of Junius's letter. Dr. Lee and Mr. Watkin Lewes, who were

both suspected, fully exculpated themselves. I believe the publication was owing to the indiscretion of Mr. Patrick Cawdron, a linen-draper in Cheapside, who showed it to his partner on the Saturday. The partner copied it on the Sunday, and the Monday following it appeared in the Morning Chronicle. The Gazetteer only copied it from thence. The Society directed a disavowal of their publication of it to be sent to you, and are to take the letter into consideration at the next meeting. I forgot to mention that Mr. Cawdron keeps the papers of the Society.

The winter campaign will begin with the next week. I believe that the sheriffs will have the old battle renewed with the commons, and I suppose the lord mayor and the courtly aldermen will commit the printer for us to release. Another scene will probably open with the lords. Junius has observed, "the arbitrary power they have assumed of imposing fines, and committing during pleasure, will now be exercised in its fullest extent." The progress of the business I suspect will be this—a bitter libel against Pomfret, Denbigh, or Talbot, attacking the peer personally, not in his legislative or judicial capacity, will appear. His lordship, passion's slave, will complain to the house. They will order the printer into custody and set a heavy fine. The sheriffs the next morning will go to Newgate, examine the warrant of commitment, and, like the angel to Peter, take the prisoner by the hand and conduct him out of prison: afterwards they will probably make their appeal to the public against the usurpation of their lordships, and their entirely setting aside the power of juries in their proceedings.

Are there more furious wild beasts to be found in the upper den than the three I have named? Miller the printer of the London Evening Post, at No. 2, Queen's Head Passage, Paternoster Row, is the best man I know for this business. He will print whatever is sent him. He is a fine Oliverian soldier. I intend a manifesto with my name on Monday to give spirit to the printers, and to show them who will be their protector. I foresee it will make the two houses more cautious, but it is necessary for our friends, and the others shall be baited till they are driven into the snare. Adieu.

JOHN WILKES.

The following passages are extracted from the public address of Junius to the people, in Letter 58, with which, observes Mr. Woodfall, "he seems in the first instance to have resolved upon closing his labors at least under the character of Junius, provided no beneficial effects were likely to result from it."

This letter therefore may be looked upon as a *political legacy* to the people.—Here, if any where, we may expect to find the genuine sentiments of Junius. It is dated Oct. 5, 1771, eleven days previous to Junius's letter to Wilkes, in which he talks of *breaking* the *heart* of Mr. Horne; and seventeen days after saying he had "often *cursed* that *canting parson* for wishing to deny you (Wilkes) your claret." The last letter of Junius to Horne was written on the 13th of August preceding.

Here follow the extracts.

"It is not necessary to exact from Mr. Wilkes the virtues of a stoic. They were inconsistent with themselves, who, almost at the same moment, represented him as the basest of mankind, yet seemed to expect from him such instances of fortitude and self-denial, as would do honor to an apostle. It is not however, flattery to say, that he is obstinate, intrepid, and fertile in expedients. That he has no *possible resource* but in the public favor, is, in my judgment, a *considerable* recommendation of him. However he may be misled by *passion* or *imprudence*, *I think* he cannot be guilty of a *deliberate treachery* to the public. The favor of his country constitutes the shield which defends him against a thousand daggers. *Desertion* would *disarm* him.

I can more readily admire the liberal spirit and integrity, than the sound judgment, of any man who prefers a republican form of government, in this or any other empire of equal extent, to a monarchy so qualified and limited as ours. I am convinced, that neither is it in theory the wisest system of government, nor practicable in this country.* Yet, though I hope the English

* Mr. Horne, on his trial for high treason (says Mr. Stephens) proved by major Cartwright, Mr. Sheridan, and others, his firm attachment to the constitution, and that his opinions had been uniformly the same, during the course of a long life. It was also clearly proved, that he had ridiculed Paine's principles, and said, "*This country was not fit for a republic.*"

constitution will for ever preserve its original monarchical form. I would have the manners of the people purely and strictly republican. I do not mean the licentious spirit of anarchy and riot. I mean a general attachment to the commonweal, distinct from any partial attachment to persons or families; an implicit submission to the laws only; and an affection to the magistrate, proportioned to the integrity and wisdom with which he distributes justice to his people, and administers their affairs. The present habit of our political body appears to me the very reverse of what it ought to be. The form of the constitution leans rather more than enough to the popular branch; while, in effect, the manners of the people (of those at least who are likely to take a lead in the country) incline too generally to a dependence upon the crown. The real friends of arbitrary power combine the facts, and are not inconsistent with their principles, when they strenuously support the unwarrantable privileges assumed by the house of commons. In these circumstances, it were much to be desired, that we had many such men as Mr. Sawbridge to represent us in parliament. I speak from common report* and opinion only, when I impute to him a speculative predilection in favor of a republic. In the personal conduct and manners of the man I cannot be mistaken. He has shown himself possessed of that republican firmness which the times require; and by which an English gentleman may be as usefully and as honorably distinguished, as any citizen of ancient Rome, of Athens, or Lacedemon.

Mr. Townsend complains that the public gratitude has not been answerable to his deserts. It is not difficult to trace the artifices which have suggested to him a language so unworthy of his understanding. A great man commands the affections of the people: a prudent man does not complain when he has lost them. Yet they are far from being lost to Mr. Townsend. He has treated our opinion a little too cavalierly."

"I have too much respect for the abilities of Mr. Horne, to flatter myself that these gentlemen will ever be cordially re-

* Junius makes it a point to deny any personal knowledge of his most particular friends.

united. It is not, however, unreasonable to expect, that each of them should act his separate part with honor and integrity to the public. As for differences of opinion upon speculative questions, if we wait until they are reconciled, the action of human affairs must be suspended for ever. But neither are we to look for perfection in any one man, nor for agreement among many."

"When a man, who stands forth for the public, has gone that length from which there is no practicable retreat, when he has given that kind of personal offence, which a pious monarch never pardons, I then begin to think him in earnest, and that he will never have occasion to solicit the forgiveness of his country.* But instances of a determination so entire and unreserved are rarely met with. Let us take mankind as they are; let us distribute the virtues and abilities of individuals according to the offices they affect; and, when they quit the service, let us endeavor to supply their places with better men than we have lost. In this country there are always candidates enough for popular favor. The temple of fame is the shortest passage to riches and preferment."

Can any man, after reading the foregoing passages, persuade himself that the letters of Junius to Horne and Wilkes express the real feelings and sentiments of the author? Do they not exhibit a *prima facia* evidence of the most outrageous impositions that were ever palmed upon the credulity of mankind?

If any inconsistency appears in the letters of Junius in regard to America, the same line of conduct may be observed in John Horne, *pari passu*. The Miscellaneous Letters vindicate the stamp act passed under the administration of Mr. George Grenville, and it has been seen that Mr. Horne had a difference with Mr. Wilkes, for supporting the pretentions of the Americans to an exclusive legislative right to internal taxation. But under other administrations and different circumstances, a change of opinion seems to have taken place.

Junius, in the first letter of the series under that signature, makes the following remarks.

* Was not John Horne that man?

"Under one administration the stamp act is made; under the second it is repealed; under the third, in spite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a question revived which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In these circumstances a new office is established for the business of the plantations, and the earl of Hillsborough called forth, at a most critical season, to govern America. As for his measures, let it be remembered, that he was called upon to conciliate and unite; and that, when he entered into office, the most refractory of the colonies were still disposed to proceed by the constitutional methods of petition and remonstrance. Since that period they have been driven into excesses little short of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne; and the continuance of one of the principal assemblies rested upon an arbitrary condition, which, considering the temper they were in, it was impossible they should comply with; and which would have availed nothing as to the general question, if it had been complied with. So violent, and, I believe, I may call it, so unconstitutional, an exertion of the prerogative, to say nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, gives us as humble an opinion of his lordship's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may, perhaps, be spared to support the earl of Hillsborough's measures in America. Whenever that force shall be necessarily withdrawn or diminished, the dismission of such a minister will neither console us for his imprudence, nor remove the settled resentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legislature, are outraged by an unwarrantable stretch of prerogative; and, supporting their claims by argument, are insulted with declamation."

And in letter 39, he says, "Neither the general situation of our colonies, nor that particular distress which forced the inhabitants of Boston to take up arms in their defence, have been thought worthy of a moment's consideration. In the repeal of those acts which were most offensive to America, the parliament have done every thing but remove the offence. They have relinquished the revenue, but judiciously taken care to

preserve the contention. It is not pretended that the continuation of the tea-duty is to produce any direct benefit whatsoever to the mother country. What is it then, but an odious, unprofitable exertion of a speculative right, and fixing a *badge* of *slavery* upon the Americans, without service to their masters? But it has pleased God to give us a minister and a parliament, who are neither to be persuaded by argument, nor instructed by exprience."

The same spirit which dictated the foregoing remarks, is visible in the following measures, "proposed," says Mr. Stephens, by Mr. Horne.

King's Arms Tavern, Cornhill, June 7, 1775.

"At a special meeting, this day, of several members of the Constitutional Society, during an adjournment, a gentleman proposed that a subscription should be immediately entered into (by such of the members present who might approve the purpose) for raising the sum of one hundred pounds, to be applied to the relief of the widows, orphans, and aged parents, of our beloved American fellow-subjects, who, faithful to the character of *Englishmen*, preferring *death* to *slavery*, were, for that reason only, inhumanly murdered by the king's troops at or near Lexington and Concord, in the province of Massachussets, on the 19th of last April; which sum being immediately collected, it was thereupon resolved, 'That Mr. Horne do pay to-morrow, into the hands of Messrs. Brownes and Collinson, on account of Dr. Franklin, the said sum of one hundred pounds; and that Dr. Franklin be requested to apply the same to the above-mentioned purpose.' JOHN HORNE."*

Mr. Stephens remarks, that Mr. Horne, "doubtless hoped, if this measure should become general, the ministers would be rendered unable to proceed in their impolitic, and, as it afterwards proved, fatal career."

* 50*l.* more were afterwards forwarded to Mr. Horne by an unknown individual for the same purpose, and advertised in like manner by him

CHAPTER XV.

PRIVATE LETTERS

OF

JUNIUS,

ADDRESSED TO

MR. H. S. WOODFALL.

No. 1. To Mr. Woodfall.

April 20, 1769.

Sir,—I am preparing a paper, which you shall have on or before Saturday night. Advertise it for Monday.* Junius on Monday. C.

If any inquiry is made about these papers, I shall rely on your giving me a hint.

No. 2.

Friday, May 5, 1769.†

Sir,—It is essentially necessary that the enclosed should be published to-morrow, as the great question comes on on Monday, and lord Granby is already staggered.‡

If you should receive an answer to it, you will oblige me much by not publishing it, till after Monday. C.

* Junius, letter xi.

† This note was addressed to Mr. Woodfall, with a desire that it should "be opened by himself only."

‡ "The letter is printed in the Miscellaneous Collection, No lv. and the great question alluded to was upon the Middlesex petition against the seating of Col. Luttrell for that county. The debate took place on Monday the 8th of May in the house of commons, and continued from half-past one o'clock in the afternoon, till half-past four the next morning, when, upon a division, there appeared for the petition 152, against it 221 The speakers on this occasion, in favor of the

No. 3.

Saturday, July 15, 1769.

Sir,—I have received the favor of your note. From the contents of it, I imagine you may have something to communicate to me; if that be the case, I beg you will be particular; and also that you will tell me candidly whether you know or suspect who I am. Direct a letter to Mr. William Middleton, to be left at the bar of the New Exchange Coffee-house on Monday as early as you think proper. I am, sir, your most obedient, and most humble servant.* C.

No. 4.

(*Private.*) July 17, 1769.

Sir,—Mr. Newberry having thought proper to reprint my letters, I wish at least he had done it correctly. You will oblige me much by giving him the following hint to-morrow. The inclosed† when you think proper.

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petition, were Mr. Dowdeswell, Lord J. Cavendish, Mr. Wedderburne, Mr. Grenville, Mr. Cornwall, Mr. Burke, Mr. Seymour, and Sir George Saville; those against it, Mr. Stanley, Sir G. Osborne, Dr. Blackstone, Mr. W. Ellis, Mr. Thurlow, Mr. C. J. Fox, Mr. Moreton, and Sir F. Norton.

In consequence of the rejection of the petition to the house of commons, the following was soon afterwards presented to the king."

Here Mr. Woodfall inserts the petition of the freeholders of the county of Middlesex, the residence of Mr. Horne, and there can be no doubt but that it was drawn up by him. From the grievances complained of, I make the following extracts:

"Public money shamefully squandered and unaccounted for, and all enquiry into the cause of arrears in the civil list prevented by the ministry.

Enquiry into a pay-master's public accounts stopped in the Exchequer, though the sums unaccounted for by that pay-master amount to *above forty millions sterling.*

Public loans perverted to private ministerial purposes.

The same discretion has been extended by the same evil counsellors to your majesty's dominions in America, and has produced to our suffering fellow-subjects in that part of the world, grievances and apprehensions similar to those which we complain of at home." Signed by 1565 Freeholders.

* It is remarkable that the same finesse, in the manner of subscribing, is here made use of as was practised by John Horne in his first letter to Junius, before taken notice of.—*Am. Ed.*

† Junius, letter XVI.

"Mr. Newberry having thought proper to reprint Junius's letters, might at least have corrected the errata, as we did constantly."

Page 1,	line 13,	*for* national	*read* rational.
— 3,	— 4,	— was	— were.
— 5,	— 15,	— indisputable	— indispensable.
Letter 7,	— 4,	— in all mazes	— in all the mazes.
— 15,	— 24,	— rightest	— brightest.
— 48,	— 2,	— indiscreet	— indirect."

I did not expect more than the life of a newspaper, but if this man will keep me alive, let me live without being offensive.

Speciosa quæro pascere tigres.

No. 5.

July 21, 1769, Friday night.

Sir,—I can have no manner of objection to your reprinting the letters, if you think it will answer, which I believe it might, before Newberry appeared. If you determine to do it, give me a hint, and I will send you more errata (indeed they are innumerable) and perhaps a Preface. I really doubt whether I shall write any more under this signature. I am weary of attacking a set of brutes, whose writings are too dull to furnish me even with the materials of contention, and whose measures are too gross and direct to be the subject of argument, or to require illustration.

That Swinney* is a wretched but a dangerous fool. He had the impudence to go to lord G. Sackville, whom he had never spoken to, and to ask him whether or no he was the author of Junius—take care of him.

Whenever you have any thing to communicate to me, let the hint be thus, C *at the usual place*, and so direct to Mr. John Fretley, at the same coffee-house, where it is absolutely impossible I should be known.

I did *not* mean the Latin to be printed.

I wish lord Holland may acquit himself with honor.† If his

* A correspondent of the printer's.

† The editor has already observed, in the Preliminary Essay, that Junius appears to have uniformly entertained a good opinion of, or at least a partiality for, lord Holland. The remark is not new; it was noticed long ago by several

cause be good, he should at once have published that account to which he refers in his letter to the mayor.*

Pray tell me whether George Onslow means to keep his word with you about prosecuting. *Yes* or *No* will be sufficient. Your Lycurgus is a Mr. Kent, a young man of good parts upon town. And so I wish you a good night. Yours. C.

It appears that lord Holland suspected himself to be alluded to in the charge of embezzlement contained in the London petition, and he wrote to the lord mayor to ascertain if he was the paymaster censured in the petition; observing "I am sure Mr. Beckford must have been against it, because he knows, and could have shown your lordship in writing, the utter falsehood of what is there insinuated." To which the mayor replies "that he had no concern in drawing up the petition of the Livery of London to his majesty; that he looks on himself only as the carrier, together with other gentlemen charged with the delivery of it; that he does not, nor ever did, hold himself accountable for the contents of it, and is a stranger to the nature of the supposed charge against his lordship."

Mr. Beckford, seeing his name implicated in this correspondence, wrote from the country to a friend (July 15, 1769) acknowledging the receipt of the writing in question from his friend Mr. Woodhouse, and adds, "the paper alluded to is in London. I therefore cannot speak of the contents with accuracy and precision: but this I recollect, that the perusal of it did *not* convince me that all I had heard was false. I have no doubt

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of his opponents. In a letter subscribed by *our author*, Anti-Fox, and inserted in the Public Advertiser of October 16th, 1771, he thus speaks of him: "I know nothing of Junius; but I see plainly that he has designedly spared lord Holland and his family."

* He seems to refer to a charge of embezzlement of the public treasure, made in the city petition presented to his majesty, July 5th, 1769.

Here Mr. Woodfall inserts the petition, from which I extract the following.

"All this they (his majesty's ministers) have been able to effect by corruption: by a scandalous misapplication and embezzlement of the public treasure, and a shameful prostitution of public honors and employments: procuring deficiencies in the civil list to be made good without examination; and, instead of punishing, conferring honors on a paymaster, the *public defaulter* of *unaccounted millions*."

Mr. Woodhouse has a copy of the paper by him, and I hope he will submit the contents of it to the judgment of the public, in vindication of an *innocent* man."

Junius, it seems, by his letter signed Anti-Fox, knew nothing of himself. This *ruse de guerre* might be fair enough under circumstances. It was probably good policy in him to appear ignoram of the charge brought against lord Holland.—"If, says Junius, his *cause be good*," &c. *If* is a word of suspicious character: the reader will recollect the insidious use made of it by Junius in his remarks upon lord Chatham.

There appears to have been an under current in this business: somebody moving the wires behind the curtain. The lord mayor was utterly in the dark: he knew nothing of the affair. The question naturally occurs, who was the secret agent and instigator of these measures? "On turning (says Mr. Stephens) to the proceedings of this period, (the period under consideration) it will be found, that the vicar of Brentford was not idle. Incited by his usual enthusiasm, he not only acted a conspicuous part on every public occasion, but for a time exercised a kind of *paramount jurisdiction* over all the proceedings of the day."

From the part taken by Mr. Beckford in this affair, there is good reason to believe that he was guided in it by his political mentor.—Mr. Beckford and Mr. Horne both apply the word *innocent* ironically to lord Holland. "In vindication of an *innocent* man," says Mr. Beckford in his letter of July 15. Mr. Horne, in a letter to Mr. Onslow, July 28, says, "If with another *innocent* man, lord Holland," &c. In both cases the word *innocent* is printed, in Woodfall's edition, in small capitals.

Mr. Stephens gives the following account of the connection of these gentlemen.

"Mr. Horne's acquaintance with Mr. Beckford commenced at an early period, and they lived for many years in great intimacy together, *idem sentire de republica*, being on that, as on most similar occasions, a bond of union between two liberal and ingenious minds. The alderman was a man of plain, solid understanding, but was not accomplished; he, however, possessed good sense enough to recur to the readier talents of his friend, on several trying occasions. He died during his second mayor-

alty, in 1770, at the age of sixty-five, and the grateful citizens have erected a statue to his honor, on the base of which is inscribed the celebrated reply composed by Mr. Horne.

On turning to Miller's history for the year 1771, I find the following remarks.

"At that period the freemen of London seemed to have suspended all exercise of their own will, as well as of their own reason; and while they flattered themselves with the idea of setting an example of public spirit to the whole kingdom, they were in fact the abject, senseless tools of a few factious demagogues. After Beckford's death, Crosby, Sawbridge, Townsend, Wilkes, and Oliver, succeeded to the *ostensible* direction of all the city proceedings. In the first month of Crosby's mayoralty, another remonstrance in the usual strain, and the third of the kind delivered in the same year, was agreed to, chiefly through alderman *Sawbridge's* persuasion."

Alderman Sawbridge, as well as Mr. Beckford, appears to have been under the entire guidance of the master spirit behind the scene. The *mysterious Junius* directed and governed all their movements.

After printing the documents respecting lord Holland, Mr. Woodfall inserts an account of the dispute of Horne with George Onslow, including all the letters that passed between the parties; the whole comprising seventeen close printed pages in brevier type. The slight notice taken of these cases by Junius in the foregoing note to Woodfall, can certainly form no sufficient reason for introducing these papers in this place, upon any other ground than their forming a part of the political works of Junius. And when it is considered that the plan of the work was devised by the author, it irresistibly follows that Junius bore a principal part in the foregoing transactions.

The aforesaid documents, it will be observed, are printed in notes; and Mr. Woodfall says, in his advertisement, that, "though some of them (the explanatory notes) are longer than he could have wished, yet from the circumstance of their having been written *in answer to letters from Junius*, he has thought it more desirable that they should appear in the form in which they are now offered, than be pressed into the text of the work.

by which means the present size must have been very considerably extended: and the *plan as devised by the author*, have been in some instances departed from."

That Mr. Onslow's letters were "written in answer to letters from Junius," I fully believe, and that, if they had not been, they never would have appeared in Mr. Woodfall's collection of the political works of that author.

No. 6.

Sunday, August 6, 1769.

Sir,—The spirit of your letter* convinces me that you are a much better writer than most of the people whose works you publish. Whether you have guessed well or ill, must be left to our future acquaintance. For the matter of assistance, be assured, that if a question should arise upon any writings of mine, you shall not want it. Yet you see how things go, and I fear my assistance would not avail you much. For the other points of printing, &c. it does not depend on us at present. My own works you shall constantly have, and in point of money, be assured you shall never suffer. I wish the enclosed† to be announced to-morrow *conspicuously* for Tuesday. I am not capable of writing any thing more finished. Your friend, C.

Your Veridicus is Mr. Whitworth. I assure you I have not confided in him.

No 7.

Wednesday night, Aug. 16, 1769.

Sir,—I have been some days in the country, and could not conveniently send for your letter until this night. Your correction was perfectly right, the sense required it, and I am much obliged to you. When I spoke of *innumerable* blunders, I meant Newberry's pamphlet; for I must confess that upon the whole your papers are very correctly printed.

Do with my letters exactly what you please. I should think that, to make a better figure than Newberry, some others of my letters may be added, and so throw out a hint, that you have

* The substance of Mr. Woodfall's reply to Private Letter, No 3, is not known.

† Junius, Letter xx.

reason to suspect they are by the same author. If you adopt this plan, I shall point out those which I would recommend: for you know, I do not, nor indeed have I time to give equal care to them all.

I know Mr. Onslow perfectly. He is a false silly fellow. Depend upon it, he will get nothing but shame by contending with Horne.

I believe I need not assure you, that I have never written in any other paper since I began with yours. As to Junius, I must wait for fresh matter, as this is a character I must keep up with credit. Avoid prosecutions if you can; but above all things, avoid the houses of Parliament,—there is no contending with them. At present you are safe, for this house of commons has lost all dignity, and dare not do any thing. Adieu. C.

No. 8.

(*Private.*) Sept. 10, 1769.

Sir,—The last letter you printed was idle and improper, and I assure you printed against my own opinion.* The truth is, there are people about me, whom I would wish not to contradict, and who would rather see Junius in the papers ever so improperly than not at all. I wish it could be recalled. Suppose you were to say "We have some reason to suspect that the last letter signed Junius in this paper, was not written by the real Junius, though the observation escaped us at the time:" or if you can hit off any thing yourself more plausible, you will much oblige me, but without a positive assertion. Don't let it be the same day with the enclosed. Begging your pardon for this trouble, I remain your friend and humble servant. C.

No. 9.

(*Private.*) Friday night, Sept. 15, 1769.

Sir,—I Beg you will to-morrow advertise *Junius to another duke in our next.*† If Monday's paper be engaged, then let it

* It occurs in the Miscellaneous Letters, No. LIX. In the genuine edition it was omitted for the reason which the author has here specified.—*Ed.*

This was in answer to a letter purporting to be the production of a female, and signed Junia. Junius, in his answer, indulges in indecent wit and ribaldry unbecoming his standing as a political writer.—*Am. Ed.*

† This note had reference to the letter to his grace the duke of Bedford, Junius, No. XXIII.

be for Tuesday, but not advertised till Monday. You shall have it some time to-morrow night. It cannot be corrected and copied sooner. I mean to make it worth printing. Yours, C.

No. 10.

Thursday night, Oct. 5, 1769.

I shall be glad to see the pacquet you speak of.* It cannot come from the Cavendishes, though there be no end of the family. They would not be so silly as to put their arms on the cover. As to me, be assured that it is not in the nature of things, that they, or you, or any body else should ever know me, unless I make myself known. All arts or inquiries, or rewards, would be equally ineffectual.

As to *you*, it is clearly my opinion, that you have nothing to fear from the duke of Bedford. I reserve some things expressly to awe him, in case he should think of bringing you before the house of lords.—I am sure I can threaten him privately with such a storm, as would make him tremble even in his grave. You may send to-morrow to the same place without farther notice; and if you have any thing of your own to communicate, I shall be glad to hear it. C.

No. 11.

Nov. 8, 1769

Sir,—I have been out of town for three weeks, and though I got your last, could not conveniently answer it. Be so good as to signify to A. B. C., either by word of mouth, or in your own hand, "that his papers are received, and that I should have been ready to do him the service he desires; but at present it would be quite useless to the parties, and might offend some persons who must not be offended." As to Mr. Mortimer, only make him some civil excuse.

I should be much obliged to you, if you would reprint (and in the front page, if not improper or inconvenient) a letter in the London Evening Post of last night, to the duke of Grafton.† If it had not been anticipated, I should have touched upon the

* The nature of this communication is not known.

† See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXI.

subject myself. However, it is not ill done, and it is very material that it should spread. The person alluded to is lord Denbigh. I should think you might venture him with a *D.* As it stands few people can guess who is meant. The only thing that hinders my pushing the subject of my last letter, is really the fear of ruining that poor devil Gansel, and these other blockheads.—But as soon as a good subject offers.—Your types really want mending. C.

No. 12.

Nov. 12, 1769.

Sir,—I return you the letters you sent me yesterday. A man who can neither write common English, nor spell, is hardly worth attending to. It is probably a trap for me. I should be glad, however, to know what the fool means. If he writes again, open his letter, and if it contains any thing worth my knowing, send it: otherwise not. Instead of C. in the usual place, say only *A Letter* when you have occasion to write to me again.—I shall understand you. C.

No. 13.

Thursday, Nov. 16, 1769.

As I do not choose to answer for any body's sins but my own, I must desire you to say to-morrow, "We can assure the public that the letter signed A. B. relative to the Duke of Rutland, is not written by the author of Junius."* I sometimes change my signature, but could have no reason to change the paper, especially for one that does not circulate half so much as yours. C.

For the future, open all letters to me, and don't send them, unless of importance.—I can give you light about Veridicus.

C.

No 14.

Sunday, Dec. 10, 1769.

I would wish the paper (No. 2.) might be advertised for Tuesday.†

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* See Miscellaneous Letters, No. LXI. and note * appended to it.

† The paper here referred to is the Letter of Junius, No. XXXIV.

By way of intelligence you may inform the public that Mr. De la Fontaine, *for his secret services in the Alley*, is appointed Barrack-master to the Savoy.

I hope A. B. C. has got his papers again.

No. 15.

Dec. 12, 1769.

Sir.—You may tell Mr. A. B. C. that I did not receive his letter till last night, and have not had time to look into the paper annexed. I cannot at present understand what use I can make of it. It certainly shall not be an ungenerous one to him, if he or his counsel *know how to act*. I have saved him already, and really without intending it. The facts are all literally true. Mr. Hine's place is Customer at the port of Exeter. Colonel Burgoyne received 4000*l.* for it. To mend the matter, the money was raised by contribution, and the subscribers quartered upon Mr. Hine. Among the rest, one Doctor Brook, a physician at Exeter, has 100*l.* a year out of the salary. I think you might give these particulars in your own way to the public.* As to yourself, I am convinced the ministry will not venture to attack you, they dare not submit to such an inquiry. If they do, show no fear, but tell them plainly you will justify, and subpœna Mr. Hine, Burgoyne, and Bradshaw of the treasury—that will silence them at once.—As to the house of commons, there may be more danger. But even there I am fully satisfied the ministry will exert themselves to quash such an inquiry, and on the other side you will have friends:—but they have been so grossly abused on all sides, that they will hardly begin with *you*.

Tell A. B. C. his paper shall be returned. I am now meditating a capital, and I hope a final piece:—you shall hear of it shortly.†

No. 16.

Dec. 19, 1769.

For *material* affection, for God's sake read *maternal*: it is in the sixth paragraph.‡ The rest is excellently done.

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* The facts were given to the public by Junius himself, in Letter xxxv. And are indeed touched upon more than once in his subsequent letters.

† He refers to the letter to the king, Junius, No. xxxv.

‡ Letter to the king.

It appears by Wheble's editon, that this letter was originally addressed to the king, and not as now printed, to the Printer of the Public Advertiser.—*Am. Ed.*

No. 17.

Dec. 26, 1769.

Sir,—With the enclosed alterations I should think our paper might appear.* As to embowelling, do whatever you think proper, provided you leave it intelligible to vulgar capacities: but would not it be the shortest way at once to print it, in an anonymous pamphlet? judge for yourself. I enter seriously into the anxiety of your situation, at the same time I am strongly inclined to think that you will not be called upon.† They cannot do it without subjecting Hine's affair to an inquiry, which would be worse than death to the minister. As it is, they are more seriously stabbed with this last stroke than all the rest.—At any rate, stand firm—(I mean with all the humble appearances of contrition)—if you trim or falter, you will lose friends without gaining others. A. B. C. has done right in publishing his letter, it defends him more effectually than all his nonsense.—I believe I shall give him a lift, for I really think he has been punished infinitely beyond his merits.—I doubt much whether I shall ever have the pleasure of knowing you: but if things take the turn I expect, you shall *know me by my works*.

C.

No. 18.

(*Private.*) Jan. 12, 1770.

Sir,—I desired A. B. C. not to write to me until I gave him notice, he must therefore blame himself, if the detention of his papers has been inconvenient to him. Pray tell him this, and that he shall have them in a day or two. I shall also keep my promise to him,‡ but to do it immediately would be useless *to him*, and unadviseable with respect to myself. I believe you

* This paper is supposed to have been totally suppressed, the alterations introduced into it, not having perhaps satisfied the printer of his safety in publishing it, as the signal of a private communication from him to the author appeared in the P. A. of the next day.

† The printer was threatened by the minister with prosecution for publishing the letter of Junius, No. XXXIII. and the court of King's Bench was actually moved on his behalf; but probably for the reason mentioned above, the threat was never executed.

‡ See Junius, No. XXXIII. and XXXVI. for an explanation of the fact and papers here referred to.

may banish your fears. The information* will only be for a misdemeanor, and I am advised that no jury, especially in these times, will find it. I suspect the channel through which you have your intelligence. It will be carried on coldly. You must not write to me again, but be assured I will never desert you. I received your letters regularly, but it was *impossible* to answer them sooner. You shall hear from me again shortly.

No. 19.

(*Private.*) Beginning of Feb. 1770.

Sir,—When I consider to what excessive enmities I may be exposed, you will not wonder at my caution. I really have not known how to procure your last. If it be not of any great moment, I would wish you to recall it. If it be, give me a hint. If your affair should come to a trial,† and you should be found guilty, you will then let me know what expense falls particularly on yourself; for I understand you are engaged with other proprietors. Some way or other you shall be reimbursed. But seriously and *bona fide*, I think it is impossible. C

No. 20.

About Feb. 14, 1770.

I have carefully perused the information. It is so loose and ill-drawn, that I am persuaded Mr. De Grey could not have had a hand in it. Their inserting the whole, proves they had no strong passages to fix on. I still think it will not be tried. If it should, it is not possible for a jury to find you guilty.

No. 21.

Saturday, March 17, 1770.

To-morrow before twelve you shall have a Junius, it will be absolutely necessary that it should be published on Monday.

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* The information was for publishing the letter to the king.

† The trial here referred to is stated more fully in another part of this publication, and alludes to an information filed by the attorney-general, in consequence of the printer's having published the letter of Junius to the King. The copy of the information was procured in Hilary term, 1770, and the trial took place at Guildhall, June 13th following. The costs to the printer in defending himself, though ultimately successful, amounted to about 120*l.* a somewhat heavy fine for a person not found guilty.

Would it be possible to give notice of it to-night or to-morrow, by dispersing a few *hand-bills?* Pray do whatever you think will answer this purpose best, for *now is the crisis.** C.

No. 22.

Sunday, March 18, 1770.

This letter is written wide, and I suppose will not fill two columns. For *God's sake* let it appear to-morrow. I hope you received my note of yesterday.

Lord Chatham is determined to go to the Hall to support the Westminster remonstrance.† I have no doubt that we shall *conquer* them *at last.* C.

The reader is now referred to Junius's letter, No. 37, dated March 19, 1770, also Miscellaneous letter, No. 70—pages 182 and 183 this volume, and the account there given of the petitions and remonstrances got up by John Horne, and seriously asked, if he can distinguish the one from the other by their acts?

"Ye shall know them by their fruits," is a monition that may be observed with equal success in ascertaining political as well as moral character, and, in the present instance, seems to be the only attainable test.

The anxiety expressed by Junius in the two private notes to Woodfall, No. 21 and 22, as well as the letters referred to, shows that he was not exceeded in the person of Mr. Horne in zeal to obtain the object contended for. The letter signed Junius, had particular reference to the London remonstrance of March 14, 1770. On the 23d of May following, another was presented to his majesty from the same quarter, drawn up by John Horne.

Junius, in a letter to Wilkes, says, "I am far from *condemning* the late addresses to the throne. They ought to be *incessantly*

* The letter referred to, is printed Junius, No. xxxvii.

† Agreed upon at a general meeting of the electors of the city and liberty of Westminster, assembled in Westminster Hall, in consequence of their petition to his majesty, requesting him to dissolve the parliament, having been rejected. The following is a copy of the remonstrance:—[Here the copy is inserted.]

repeated. The people, by the singular situation of their affairs, are compelled to do the duty of the house of commons."

No. 23.

(*Private*) Friday Morn. Oct. 19, 1770.

By your affected silence, you encourage an idle opinion that I am the author of the *Whig*,* &c. though you very well know the contrary. I neither admire the writer nor his idol. I hope you will soon set this matter right. C.

No. 24.

Monday Evening, Nov. 12, 1770.

Sir,—The enclosed† though begun within these few days, has been greatly labored. It is very correctly copied, and I beg you will take care that it be literally printed as it stands. I don't think you can run the least risque. We have got the rascal down, let us strangle him if it be possible. This paper should properly have appeared to-morrow, but I could not compass it, so let it be announced to-morrow, and printed Wednesday. If you should have any fears, I entreat you send it early enough to Miller, to appear to-morrow night in the London Evening Post. In that case, you will oblige me by informing the public to-morrow, in *your own paper*, that a real Junius will appear at night in the London.—Miller, I am sure, will have no scruples.

Lord Mansfield has thrown ministry into confusion, by suddenly resigning the office of speaker of the house of lords.

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* This letter was printed in the Public Advertiser under the Signature of a Whig and an Englishman, Oct. 11, 1770, and refers chiefly to the American Stamp Act, and the opinion of lord Chatham, whom the author panegyrized in very warm terms. The same writer had already published several other letters in the same name; and the printer, in compliance with the request of Junius, gave the following notice—

"The printer thinks it his duty to declare, that the letters which have appeared in this paper under the signature of *a Whig and an Englishman*, were not written by the author of those signed Junius.

† Letter XLI. Junius to the Right Hon. lord Mansfield.

No. 25.

Wednesday Night, Nov. 21, 1770.*

I shall be very glad to hear from your friend at Guildhall.—You may, if you think proper, give my compliments to him, and tell him, if it be possible, I will make use of any materials he will give me. I will never rest till I have destroyed or expelled that wretch.—I wish you joy of yesterday.—The fellow truckles already.† C.

No. 26.

Friday, 1 o'clock, Dec. 7, 1770.

I wish it were possible for you to print the enclosed to-morrow,‡ observe the italics *strictly* where they are marked. Why don't I hear from Guildhall.—If he trifles with me, he shall hear of it.§ C.

No. 27.

January 2, 1771.

Sir,—I have received your mysterious epistle. I dare say a letter may safely be left at the same place: but you may change the direction to Mr. John Fretley. You need not advertise it.

Yours, C.

No. 28.

Jan. 16, 1771.

You may assure the public that a squadron of four ships of the line is ordered to be got ready with *all possible expedition* for the East Indies. It is to be commanded by Commodore Spry. Without regarding the language of ignorant or interested people, depend upon the assurance *I* give you, that every man in administration looks upon war as inevitable.

* On the outside of this note was written, "the enclosed strikes deeper than you may imagine. C." The letter here referred to, is printed in the Miscellaneous Collection, No LXXVIII. and is subscribed *Testiculus*.

† In allusion to the unanimous judgment of the court of King's Bench, on the verdict for printing the letter to the king, given Nov. 20th. 1770; by which lord Mansfield lost his object, and the printer was granted a new trial.

‡ The paper here referred to, is Miscellaneous Letter, No. LXXIX. signed *Domitian*, and was printed as requested.

§ The allusion is to a communication between the writer and Mr. Wilkes, which had been promised by the latter, but had not been at this time received.

No. 29.

Thursday, Jan. 31, 1771,

The paper is extremely well printed, and has a great effect ;* it is of the utmost importance to the public cause that the doors of the house of lords should be opened on Tuesday next, perhaps the following may help to shame them into it.

We hear that the ministry intend to move for opening the doors of both houses of parliament on Tuesday next, in the usual manner, being desirous that the nation should be exactly informed of their whole conduct in the business of Falkland Island.

(Next day.)

The nation expect, that on Tuesday next at least, both houses will be open as usual, otherwise there will be too much reason to suspect, that the proceedings of the ministry have been such as will not bear a public discussion.

We hear that the ministry intend to move, that no gentleman may be refused admittance into either house on Tuesday next. Lord North in particular thinks it touches his character, to have any part of his conduct concealed from the nation.

The resolution of the ministry to move for opening both houses on Tuesday next does them great honor. If they were to do otherwise, it would raise and justify suspicions very disadvantageous to their own reputation, and to the king's honor. Pray keep it up. C.

No. 30.

Tuesday Noon, Feb. 5, 1771.

Sir.—I did not receive your letter until this day. I shall be very glad to hear what you have to communicate. C.

You need not advertise any notice.

No. 31.

Monday, Feb. 11. 1771.

Our correspondence is attended with difficulties, yet I should be glad to see the paper you mention ; let it be left to-morrow

* It refers to Junius, No XLII. For the nature of the subject alluded to, see the letter, and the notes subjoined to it ; as also Miscellaneous Letters, No LXXXVIII. and the note in explanation.

without further notice. I am seriously of opinion that it will all end in smoke.* C.

No. 32.

Monday Feb. 18, 1771.

If you are not grown too ministerial in your politics, I shall hope to see the enclosed announced to-morrow and published on Wednesday.†

No. 33.

Feb. 21, 1771.

Sir,—It will be very difficult, if not impracticable, for me to get your note. I presume it relates to Vindex.‡ I leave it to you to alter or omit as you think proper:—or burn it.—I think the argument about Gibraltar,§ &c. is too good to be lost; as to the satirical part, I must tell you, (and with positive certainty,) that our gracious —— is as callous as stockfish to every thing

* In reference to a notice from the Attorney-General for publishing letter of Junius, No. LXII. but which was never farther proceeded upon.

† This note accompanied No. XC of the Miscellaneous Letters. The printer had some scruples about publishing the whole of it; and in the Public Advertiser of Feb. 29, gave the usual mark, "A Letter," that a private letter was in waiting upon this subject. In consequence of which the subsequent note was received, dated Feb. 21.

‡ The following is a copy of the letter which Mr. Woodfall addressed to the author under the feigned name of Mr. John Fretley, and directed it to him at the New Exchange Coffee-house, in the Strand.

"Sir,—To have deserved any portion of your good opinion, affords me no small degree of satisfaction—to preserve it shall be my constant endeavour. Always willing to oblige you as much as lies in my power, I, with great avidity, open your letters; and sometimes, without reading the contents, promise the publication.—Such is my present situation, and I hope you will not be offended at my declining to publish your letter, as I am convinced the subject of it must, if I was to insert it, render me liable to very severe reprehension. That I am not grown too ministerial in my politics, every day's paper will, I hope, sufficiently evince; though I rather hope some little regard to prudence will not by you be deemed squeamishness, or tend to lessen me in your opinion, as I shall ever think myself your much obliged humble servant, HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL."

Feb. 19, 1771.

"P. S. I shall wait your directions what to do with the paper in question, as I did not chose to trust it under cover till I was further acquainted with your pleasure."

§ For the explanation of this passage, see Miscellaneous Letters, No. XC signed *Vindex.*

but the reproach of *cowardice*. That alone is able to set the humours afloat. After a paper of that kind he won't eat meat for a week.

You may rely upon it, the ministry are sick of prosecutions. Those against Junius cost the treasury above six thousand pounds, and after all they got nothing but disgrace. After the paper you have printed to-day, (signed Brutus*) one would think you feared nothing. For my own part I can very truly assure you that nothing would afflict me more than to have drawn you into a personal danger, because it admits of no recompense. A little expense is not to be regarded, and I hope these papers have reimbursed you. I never will send you any thing that *I* think dangerous, but the risque† is yours, and you must determine for yourself. C.

All the above is private.

No. 34.

Friday noon, April, 19, 1771.

I hope you will approve of announcing the inclosed Junius to-morrow,‡ and publishing it on Monday. If, for any reasons that do not occur to me, you should think it unadvisable to print it as it stands, I must entreat the favor of you to transmit it to Bingley, and satisfy him that it is a real Junius, worth a North Briton Extraordinary. It will be impossible for me to have an opportunity of altering any part of it. I am, very truly, your friend. C.

No. 35.

Thursday, June 20, 1771.

I am strangely partial to the enclosed.§ It is finished with the utmost care. If I find myself mistaken in my judgment of this paper, I positively will never write again. C.

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* This letter was addressed to lord North.

† This peculiarity is the author's.

‡ Junius, letter XLIV. which was printed as requested.

§ "Junius, No. XLIX. to the duke of Grafton." It is necessary to inform the reader, that Mr. G. Woodfall, in his edition of 1812, has added a letter to the series of Junius, numbered 46. Therefore the letters referred to in these notes exceeding that number, will be one number less in the common editions, than

Let it be announced to-morrow, Junius to the duke of Grafton for Saturday.

I think Wilkes has closed well. I hope he will keep his resolution not to write any more.*

No. 36.

July 16, 1771.

To prevent any unfair use being made of the enclosed, I intreat you to keep a copy of it. Then seal and deliver it to Mr. Horne. I presume you know where he is to be found.†

C.

This trifling is really ridiculous. Junius *presumes* that Mr. Woodfall knew where Mr. Horne was to be found. There was not a political man in the kingdom that did not know the residence of Mr. Horne. To pretend that the letter was not intended for the press, is an outrage upon the common sense of the public. There is an appearance of trick in this management that is actually disgusting, because one cannot avoid feeling it as an insult offered to his understanding. The remark of Junius in the preceeding note, in respect to Wilkes, contains the same quaint, presumptuous attempt at imposition.

No. 37.

August 13, 1771.

Pray make an erratum for *ultimate* in the paragraph about the duke of Grafton, it should be *intimate*, the rest is very correct.‡ If Mr. Horne answers this letter handsomely and in point, he shall be my great Apollo.

No. 38.

Wednesday noon, Sept. 25, 1771.

The enclosed is of such importance, so very material, that it *must* be given to the public immediately.§

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here specified. For instance, No. 49 refers to No. 48 in these editions. This innovation was the less called for, as the letter here introduced is printed entire in a note, Vol. I. page 136, Philadelphia copy.—*Am. Ed.*

* In allusion to the dispute between Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Horne.

† Note enclosing Junius's letter to the Rev. Mr. Horne, No. LII.

‡ Junius's Letter LIV.

§ The letter referred to is Junius, No. LVII.

I will not advise: though I think you perfectly safe:—all I say is, that *I rely* upon your care to have it printed either to-morrow in your own paper, or to-night in the Packet.

I have not been able to get yours from that place, but you shall hear from me soon.

No. 39.

About Nov. 5, 1771.

Your reasons are very just about printing the Preface, &c. It is your own affair. Do whatever you think proper. I am convinced that the book will sell, and I suppose will make two volumes,—the type might be one size larger than Wheble's. But of all this you are the best judge. I think you should give money to the waiters at that place to make them more attentive.* The notes should be in smaller type.

Pray find out, if you can, upon what day the late duke of Bedford was flogged on the course of Litchfield by Mr. Heston Humphrey.†

No. 40.

Friday, Nov. 8, 1771.

The above to that Scotchman should be printed conspicuously to-morrow.‡ At last I have concluded my great work, and I assure you with no small labor. I would have you begin to advertise immediately, and publish before the meeting of parliament: let all *my* papers in defence of Junius be inserted.§ I shall now supply you very fast with copy and notes. The paper and type should at least be as good as Wheble's.‖ You must correct the press yourself, but I should be glad to see corrected proofs of the two first sheets. Show the Dedication and Preface to Mr. Wilkes, and if he has any *material* objection, let me know. I say *material*, because of the difficulty of getting your letter.

C.

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* A coffee-house at which letters, &c. were left for Junius.

† See Junius, letter XXIII.

‡ See letters of Junius, No. LXVI.

§ The letters signed *Philo-Junius*; those numbered LXIII. and LXIV. and the extracts from the letters to the supporters of the Bill of Rights.

‖ The present respectable proprietor and publisher of the County Chronicle.

(*Secret.*)

Beware of David Garrick,* he was sent to pump you, and went directly to Richmond to tell the king I should write no more. The Dedication must stand first.

No. 41.

To Mr. David Garick.

Nov. 10, 1771.

I am very exactly informed of your impertinent inquiries, and of the information you so busily sent to Richmond, and with what triumph and exultation it was received. I knew every particular of it the next day.—Now mark me, vagabond.—Keep to your pantomimes, or be assured you shall hear of it. Meddle no more, thou busy informer!—It is in *my* power to make you curse the hour in which you dared to interfere with

JUNIUS.

I would send the above to Garrick directly, but that I would avoid *having this hand* too commonly seen. Oblige me, then, so much as to have it copied in any hand, and sent by the penny post, that is if you dislike sending it in your own writing. I must be more cautious than ever. I am sure I should not survive a discovery three days; or, if I did, they would attaint me by bill. Change to the *Somerset Coffee-house*, and let no mortal know the alteration. I am persuaded you are too honest a man to contribute in any way to my destruction. *Act honorably by me, and at a proper time you shall know me.*

I think the second page, with the widest lines, looks best. What is your essential reason for the change? I send you some more sheets.—I think the paper not so good as Wheble's. —but I may be mistaken—the type is good. The aspersions

* Garrick had received a letter from Woodfall just before the above note of Junius was sent to the Printer, in which Garrick was told, in confidence, that there were some doubts whether Junius would continue to write much longer. Garrick flew with the intelligence to Mr. Ramus, one of the pages to the king, who immediately conveyed it to his majesty, at that time residing at Richmond, and from the peculiar sources of information that were open to this extraordinary writer, Junius was apprised of the whole transaction on the ensuing morning, and wrote the above postscript, and the letter that follows it, in consequence.

thrown upon my letter to the Bill of Rights should be refuted by publication.

Prevail upon Mr. Wilkes to let you have extracts of my second and third letters to him. It will make the book still more new. I would see them before they are printed, but keep this last to yourself.*

No. 42.

Nov. 11, 1771.

Print the following as you think proper, and at the head of your paper.†

I sent you three sheets of copy last night.

When you send to me, instead of the usual signal, say, *Vindex shall be considered*, and keep the alteration a secret to every body.

No. 43.

About Nov. 15, 1771.

If you can find the date of the Duke of Bedford's flogging insert it in the note.‡ I think it was soon after the Westminster election.—The Philos are not to be placed as notes, except where I mention it particularly. I have no doubt of what you say about David Garrick—so drop the note. The truth is, that in order to curry favor, he made himself a greater rascal than he was. Depend upon what I tell you:—the king understood that he had found out the secret by his own cunning and activity.—As it is important to deter him from meddling, I desire you will tell him that I am aware of his practices, and will certainly be revenged, if he does not desist. An appeal to the public from Junius would destroy him.

Let me know whether Mr. Wilkes will give you the extracts.

I cannot proceed without answers to those seven queries.

Think no more of Junius Americanus.§—Let him reprint his

* On the outside of this letter was written "private and particular."

† Certain paragraphs relating to the marriage of the late duke of Cumberland.

‡ See note to letter xxiii.

§ Junius Americanus was a frequent writer in the Public Advertiser during the years 1769, 1770, and 1771. His letters chiefly related, as his signature readily suggests, to the disputes of the cabinet with the American colonies; and

letters himself. He acts most dishonorably, in suffering Junius to be so traduced; *but this falsehood will all revert upon Horne. In the mean time, I laugh at him.*

With submission I think it is not for your interest to declare that I have done.

As to yourself, I really think you are in no danger. *You* are not the object, and punishing *you* (unless it answered the purpose of stopping the press) would be no gratification to the king. If undesignedly I should send you any thing you may think dangerous, judge for yourself, or take any opinion you think proper. You cannot offend or afflict me but by hazarding your own safety. They talk of farther informations, but they will always hold that language *in terrorem.*

Don't always use the same signal—any absurd Latin verse will answer the purpose.

Let me know about what time you may want more copy.

Upon reflection, I think it absolutely necessary to send that note to D. G.* only say *practices* instead of *impertinent inquiries.* I think you have no measures to keep with a man who could betray a confidential letter, for so base a purpose as pleasing ——————. Tell me how long it may be before you want more copy.—I want rest most severely, and am going to find it in the country for a few days. Cumbriensis† has taken greatly.

No. 44.

November 27, 1771.

The postscript to Titus must be omitted.—I did never ques-

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in the course of his strictures, he attributed to Junius doctrines, in relation to their dependence on the legislature of Great Britain, which he had never avowed, nor even inclined to. At this time there was some idea of publishing them collectively. They were written by a Dr. Charles Lee, as may be seen by a reference to the private correspondence of Junius and Mr. Wilkes.—*Ed.*

Mr. Woodfall often makes very random assertions. Some of the Letters of Junius certainly did advocate the doctrine, that the American colonies were as dependent on the legislature of Great Britain as the mother country itself.—See p. 87, this volume.—*Am. Ed.*

* David Garrick. See No. 41.

† See Miscellaneous Letters, No. CII. it was printed in the Public Advertiser, Nov. 13th, 1771, upon the marriage of the late duke of Cumberland with Mrs. Horton, the sister of col. Luttrell.

tion your understanding. Far otherwise. The Latin word *simplex* conveys to me an amiable character, and never denotes folly. Though we may not be deficient in point of capacity, it is very possible that neither of us may be cunning enough for Mr. Garrick. But with a sound heart, be assured you are better gifted, even for worldly happiness, than if you had been cursed with the abilities of a Mansfield. After long experience of the world, I affirm before God, I never knew a rogue who was not unhappy.

Your account of my letter to the Bill of Rights astonishes me. I always thought the misrepresentation had been the work of Mr. Horne. I will not trust myself with suspecting. The remedy is in my own hands, but, for Mr. Wilkes's honor, I wish it to come freely and honorably from himself. Publish nothing of mine until I have seen it. In the mean time be assured, that nothing can be more express, than my declaration against long parliaments. Try Mr. Wilkes once more—speak for me in a most friendly but *firm* tone,—that I *will not* submit to be any longer aspersed. —*Between ourselves, let me recommend it to you to be much upon your guard with patriots.** I fear your friend Jerry Dyson will lose his Irish pension. Say received.

In page 25, it should be *the* instead of your,† this is a woeful mistake :—pray take care for the future—keep a page for errata.

David Garrick has literally forced me to break my resolution of writing no more.‡

Junius had committed himself by an unguarded expression, evidently through inadvertence, in his letter No. 13. His multiplicity of employments at this time is the only apology for this *faux pas*. He had just concluded a long private correspondence with Wilkes, his last letter to him being dated the 9th of November, a few days before he committed this blunder.

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* Mr. Horne had experienced to his sorrow the sad effects of his confidence in the *patriot*, Wilkes.—*Am. Ed.*

† In the opening of the letter of Junius, No. III. it was originally printed in the genuine edition, "Your defence," &c. In the present edition the correction has been duly adopted.

‡ The letter alluded to is Junius, No. LXVII

The same hoax had passed current with Wilkes, and he probably had him in his mind when he wrote the passage alluded to. I refer to his saying, "But this *falsehood* will all revert upon *Horne*. In the mean time, *I laugh at him*."

Junius, no doubt, had many hearty laughs, not at Horne, but at the gullibility of the public. In this case, however, he appears to have carried the joke too far. Woodfall must have been astonished at this unceremonious introduction of Horne as a *scape goat*, to bear the sins of Wilkes and the Bill of Rights Society; when he knew, and it was known to all England, that Wilkes and Horne were not on speaking terms, and that the latter had quit the Bill of Rights Society more than eight months before, which at this time was under the intire control of Wilkes. Woodfall, however, very innocently obtained information that this surmise was unfounded, which he communicated to Junius, who, no doubt, heartily cursed him for his interference.

Junius, thus nonplused, said, he *had always thought*, &c.—that he would not *trust* himself with *suspecting*, &c. What pitiful subterfuge!

As this bait was not sufficiently disguised for Woodfall, and as Junius had, no doubt, conceived the idea of throwing out this lure, at the end of his letters, as a preface to the extract from his letter to Wilkes, to divert the public mind from himself, he had no other resource than to discover his person to Mr. Woodfall. This he had already promised to do, provided the latter "acted honorably by him," which is not denied. On the contrary, Junius, in his last letter to Woodfall, says, "*You* have never *flinched* that I know of: and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity."

I contend, therefore, that soon after the date of the letter of Nov. 27, 1771, Mr. H. S. Woodfall was made acquainted with the author. The volumes were then almost completed, the danger of discovery nearly over, and Mr. Woodfall as a man of honor and principle, could not with any show of propriety print the note at the end of the work without being let into the secret of the author. The difficulty of correspondence, however, remained the same, and it may be presumed that Junius did not trust himself for, at least, twelve months afterwards,

within half a mile of Woodfall's office. As for Wilkes, there could be no objection to his correcting the proofs of the Dedication and Preface, as it would tend to keep him and his associates in the dark.

After all the bluster about the *misrepresentation* of Junius's letter to Wilkes, there does not in reality appear to have been any. Junius was in favor of *long* parliaments in the view of the Wilkites, who advocated *annual* instead of *triennial* parliaments which he contended for. The dispute turned upon the relative term *long*. The remarks of Junius upon this subject, in his fictitious quarrel with Horne, are worthy of notice in this place. He there says, "The shortening the duration of parliaments is a subject on which Mr. Horne cannot enlarge too warmly; nor will I question his sincerity. If I did not profess the same sentiments, I should be shamefully inconsistent with myself." There seems to have been no disagreement between Junius and Horne, in regard to the term *shortening*: the understanding appears to be to restrict the duration to three years.

The letter of Junius containing the above sentiments, was dated Aug. 15, 1771, and his letter to Wilkes, laid before the Bill of Rights Society, in which he introduces the same subject, was written the 7th of Sept. following. His opinions, therefore on this head, being fairly before the people, his empty, insincere declaration about misrepresentation, contained in the note subjoined to his letters, was a downright insult to the public understanding. It was made with no other view than to bring forward an insinuation against the *Reverend Mr. John Horne*, to prevent his being suspected of writing the letters of Junius. I will venture to say, that no such representation as is pretended was ever made; that is, that Junius was in favor of septennial parliaments. The folly and absurdity of such assertion, when his sentiments on the subject had been so pointedly expressed in his public letters, would have deterred any man of common sense, however inimical to Junius, from hazarding his reputation in so ridiculous a manner, without the prospect of gaining the least credit.—This was one of the arts of the mysteri-

ous Junius, and, although very thinly veiled, fully answered his expectations.

As to the rotten boroughs, Junius was decidedly in favor of retaining them. He had, perhaps, in his eye, *Old Sarum*, as a dernier resort.—"It actually so happened in the course of human events," (says Stephens) "that he himself, (John Horne) was returned for Old Sarum, a miserable, deserted hamlet, the vestiges of which scarcely remain at this period."

The reader will observe, that when the note charging the *Reverend Mr. John Horne* with misrepresenting the sentiments of Junius, conveyed in his letter to the Bill of Rights Society, first appeared in the author's edition of his public letters, the refutation of the story by H. S. Woodfall, was not before the public. When, therefore, his son, G. Woodfall, published this exposure, he found it a difficult task to reconcile the contradictory statements. But as it was necessary for him to say something about the circumstance, he makes the following awkward attempt to account for the discrepance. He says. "He, (Junius) here admits that he was mistaken in the conjecture that *Horne* had misrepresented the sentiments conveyed in his letter to the Bill of Rights Society. Yet as he published the same opinion in his own edition, he *must* afterwards have had fresh grounds for re-accrediting it, while in the present letter he seems *more than half* to suspect Wilkes himself."

Can the common sense of the public be longer abused by such palpable fraud?

The note is as follows:

"The *Reverend Mr. John Horne** having, with his usual veracity, and honest industry, circulated a report that Junius, in a letter to the supporters of the Bill of Rights, had warmly declared himself in favor of long parliaments and rotten boroughs, it is thought necessary to submit to the public the following extract from his letter to John Wilkes, esq. dated the 7th of Sept. 1771, and laid before the society on the 24th of the same month."

* The formal address here given to Mr. Horne carries a prima facia evidence of trick.

Then follows the extract from the letter to Wilkes.

The *Reverend Mr. John Horne* remained perfectly silent under this imputation to the day of his death. He feared to meddle with it, lest he should blow up the whole plot. Had he called upon Junius for proof, not a living soul could be produced to support the allegation, and the entire failure of the intended effect might have been the consequence.

However, after the death of the *reverend* gentleman, Mr. Stephens, by sheer conjuration, brought him at the time, and in consequence of the publication of the aforesaid note, into the midst of the society for the support of the Bill of Rights, where he had not appeared in *propria persona* for more than twelve months before; and having upon this occasion given Junius his due in fine style, was never more seen at their meetings.

Mr. Stephens published his Memoirs of John Horne Tooke in 1813, the year after the appearance of G. Woodfall's Junius; and having witnessed his success in deluding the public, he seems to have concluded that the very appearance of probability might be dispensed with.

After giving the letters that passed between Wilkes and Horne, which showed that the latter had quit the Bill of Rights Society on the 26th of Feb. 1771, he inserts his famous dispute with Junius, and subjoins to it the above note, and also the extract from the letter to Wilkes, first published March 3, 1772; and then makes Horne magically rise in a society long since abandoned by him, and deliver the following philippic:

"To this letter, he says, Mr. Horne shortly but forcibly replied, by means of a speech pronounced before the "Society for supporting the Bill of Rights," in which he ridiculed the pretended patriotism of this celebrated writer, and questioned the *tendency of all his positions.* He endeavored, at the same time, to expose him as the "*pander of corruption*;" and "to deprecate the malevolent effects of that eloquence, the *open* and *declared object* of which seemed to be confined to the *support of ministerial abuses, and an apology for rotten boroughs!*"

These pretended remarks of Horne, said to be made more than forty years before, are now for the first time reported *verbatim.*

If a writer can thus trifle with the understanding of his readers and maintain his credit, it is time to relinquish all search after the author of Junius's letters; because the most conclusive reasoning and positive facts may be put down by barefaced assertions in contradiction to evidence produced by the very person making them.

By the foregoing remarks, as before observed on similar reflections, I do not mean to be understood as censuring the conduct of the gentlemen to whom they allude: for, as Dr. Parr said, and no doubt correctly, "it was the wish, if not the *duty* of Woodfall (the elder) to keep us in the dark," so I conceive the same duty devolved upon his son, and also upon Mr. Stephens. They were, without doubt, as before intimated, under the most solemn engagements, not only not to divulge the secrets committed to their charge, but to endeavor, in every possible way, to blind and confuse their readers. In their misrepresentations, therefore, they committed, if I may so say, an *honorable fraud*. Having conceded thus much, the gentlemen, or the survivor of them, will, I hope, excuse me for unveiling that fraud, and giving it as my decided opinion that the very means they have taken to deceive the public, with a view of concealing the author of Junius, tend more effectually to discover him than any positive declarations they could have made intentionally to point him out; because their motives for so doing could not be ascertained with such certainty as in the present case.

No. 45.

Dec. 5, 1771.

These papers are all in their exact order. Take great care to keep them so. In a few days more I shall have sent you all the copy. You must then take care of it yourself, except that I must see proof sheets of the Dedication and Preface, and these, if at all, I must see before the end of next week. You shall have the extract to go into the second volume, it will be a short one. Scævola, I see is determined to make me an enemy to lord Camden.* If it be not wilful malice, I beg you will signify

* For further particulars of this dispute, see letters of Junius, No. LX.

to him, that when I originally mentioned lord Camden's declaration about the Corn Bill, it was without any view of discussing that doctrine, and only as an instance of a singular opinion maintained by a man of great learning and integrity. Such an instance was necessary to the plan of my letter. I think he has in effect injured the man whom he meant to defend.

When you send the above proof sheets, return my own copy with them.

No. 46.

Dec 10, 1771.

The enclosed completes all the materials that I can give you. I have done my part. Take care that you do yours. There are still two letters wanting, which *I will expect you will not fail* to insert in their places. One is from Philo-Junius to Scævola about lord Camden, the other to a friend of the people about pressing.* They must be in the course of October.—I have no view but to serve you, and consequently have only to desire that the Dedication and Preface may be correct. Look to it. If you take it upon yourself, I will not forgive your suffering it to be spoiled. I weigh every word: and every alteration, in my eyes at least, is a blemish.

I should not trouble you or myself about that blockhead Scævola, but that this absurd fiction of my being lord Camden's enemy has done harm.—Every fool can do mischief; therefore signify to him what I said.

Garrick has certainly betrayed himself, probably * * * * * * * *, who makes it a rule to betray every body that confides in him.† That new disgrace of Mansfield is

* These two letters are numbered Philo Junius, LX. and LXII.

† These stars answer for John Wilkes, and it is highly probable his name occupied the blank in the original letter. The last of the materials to complete the work of Junius were enclosed with this letter; including of course, if not before sent, the note to be inserted at the end of the letters, charging the *reverend Mr. John Horne* with misrepresenting the *notorious* letter to the Bill of Rights society, which it was all-important for Junius to have published, it being, in vulgar style, *a tub thrown out to the whale*. And, to accomplish this, it was necessary for Junius to reveal himself to his friend, Woodfall. No delicacy therefore was any longer required between them in respect to Wilkes; although

true :* what do you mean by affirming that the Dowager is better? I tell you that she suckles toads from morning till night.† I think I have now done my duty to you, so farewell.

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the same time however, was to be kept in the dark, and permitted to correct the proof sheets of the Dedication and Preface to the letters.

There were, probably, other private letters from Junius to Woodfall, which have not been laid before the public.

The charge of treachery here made exactly suits the parties from whence it came, and to whom it was applied, if my conception of the former be correct. Mr. Woodfall, as a blind, in my opinion, has divided the stars so as to read Wilkes John.—*Am. Ed.*

* The allusion is to a cause which was tried at the Summer Assizes for the county of Surrey, in 1771, Meares and Shipley against Ansell, for a trespass, in which his lordship was supposed to have given a very partial charge in favor of the defendant, who hereby obtained a verdict. The plaintiffs, however, on the Michaelmas Term following, moved the court of Common Pleas for a new trial, on the ground of the misdirection of the judge. The judge was called upon for his report, which he could not make without sending to the plaintiff's attorney for his affidavit of the transaction.—He made his report at last, to which he subjoined that he was perfectly satisfied with the verdict of the jury.—The court of Common Pleas was clearly of opinion, that lord Mansfield had acted contrary to every principle of evidence both in law and equity, in admitting Matthews and Hiscox to give parole evidence, contrary to a clear explicit agreement in writing, which they had attested—and asserted that, if such a practice was to obtain, it would go a great way towards subverting the statute of frauds and perjuries, and would be a most dangerous inlet to perjury, and a means of rendering men's properties very precarious and insecure. The court therefore set aside the verdict, and ordered a new trial; and it appeared to the court to be so gross a misdirection, that it dispensed with the usual terms of payment of costs. Although lord Mansfield, in his direction to the jury, represented the trespasses as small and insignificant, and the action as litigious, the court of Common Pleas said the trespasses were obstinate, wilful, and malicious.

Mr. Rowlinson, the plaintiff's attorney felt so dissatisfied with the conduct of lord Mansfield upon the occasion, that in the same term a motion was made at his instigation, to have his name struck off the rolls of the court of King's Bench, which was, after some expressions of astonishment, acquiesced in, when he was immediately admitted into the Common Pleas.

† He refers to the following paragraph in the Public Advertiser for December 6, 1771 :—

"We have the pleasure to assure the public, from the most undoubted authority, that the repeated accounts of her royal highness the princess dowager of Wales being very ill, and her life in great danger, are entirely false, such reports being only calculated to promote the shameful spirit of gambling, by insurance on lives." The princess dowager was at this time afflicted with a cancer, and died on the 8th of January in the following year.

No. 47.

Dec. 17, 1771.

Make your mind easy about me, I believe you are an honest man, and I am never angry.*—Say to-morrow "We are desired to inform Scævola, that his private note was received with the most profound indifference and contempt."† I see his design. The duke of Grafton has been long labouring to detach Camden. This Scævola is the wretchedest of all fools, and a dirty knave.

Upon no account, nor for any reason whatsoever, are you to write to me, until I give you notice.

When the book is finished, let me have a set bound in vellum, gilt, and lettered Junius I. II. as handsomely as you can—the edges gilt—let the sheets be well dried before binding.—I must also have two sets in blue paper covers. This is all the fee I shall ever desire of you. I think you ought not to publish before the second week in January.

The London Packet is not worth our notice. I suspect Garrick, and I would have you hint so to him.

No. 48.

January 6, 1772.

I have a thing to mention to you in great confidence. I expect your assistance, and rely upon your secrecy.

There is a long paper ready for publication, but which must not appear until the morning of the meeting of parliament, nor be announced in any shape whatsoever.‡ Much depends upon its appearing unexpectedly. If you receive it on the 8th or 9th instant, can you in a day or two have it composed, and two proof sheets struck off and sent me; and can you keep the press standing ready for the Public Advertiser of the 21st, and

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* He had received a note from Mr. Woodfall, vindicating himself from any improper motive in his communication to Mr. Garrick, which has been already referred to.

† The information to Scævola was duly communicated in the Public Advertiser: and the flippancy of this writer's style, and the coquetry of his political attachments, fully merited the contempt here expressed for him.

‡ Letter to lord Mansfield, Junius, No. LXVIII.

can all this be done with such secrecy that none of your people shall know what is going forward, except the composer, and can you rely on *his* fidelity? Consider of it, and if it be possible, say *yes*, in your paper to-morrow.

I think it will take four full columns at the least, but I undertake that it shall sell.—It is essential that I should have a proof sheet and correct it myself.

Let me know if the books are ready that I may tell you what to do with them.

No. 49.

Saturday, January 11, 1772.

Your failing to send me the proofs, as you engaged to do, disappoints and distresses me extremely.* It is not merely to correct the press (though even that is of consequence,) but for another most *material purpose*.† This will be entirely defeated, if you do not let me have the two proofs on Monday morning.

The paper itself, is, in my opinion, in the highest style of Junius, and cannot fail to sell.—My reason for not announcing it was that the party might have no time to concert his measures with the ministry. But, upon reflection, I think it may answer better (in order to excite attention) to advertise it the day before, Junius *to lord chief justice Mansfield to-morrow*.

Quoting from memory, I have made a mistake about Blackstone, where I say *that he confines the power to the court, and does not extend it to the judges separately*. Those lines must be omitted.—The rest is right.—If you have any regard for me or for the cause, let nothing hinder your sending the proofs on Monday.

No. 50.

January 16, 1772.

I return you the proof, with the errata, which you will be so good as to correct carefully. I have the greatest reason to be pleased with your care and attention, and wish it were in my

* Of Junius, No. LXVIII. referred to in the preceding letter.

† He seems to allude to a promise, or expectation, of legal assistance from some friendly quarter.

power to render you some essential service.—Announce it on Monday.

No. 51.

(*Private.*) Saturday, Jan. 18, 1770.

The gentleman* who transacts the conveyancing part of our correspondence tells me there was much difficulty last night. For this reason, and because it could be no way material for me to see a paper on Saturday which is to appear on Monday, I resolved not to send for it.—Your hint of this morning, relates to this.†—I am truly concerned to see that the publication of the book is so long delayed.—It ought to have appeared before the meeting of parliament.—By no means would I have you insert this long letter,‡ if it made more than the difference of two days in the publication. Believe me the delay is a real injury to the cause. The letter to M.‡ may come into a new edition.

Mr. Wilkes seems not to know that Morris published that letter.§—I think you should set him right.

No. 52.

Jan. 25, 1772.

Having nothing better to do, I propose to entertain myself and the public, with torturing that ********** Barrington.‖ He has just appointed a French broker his deputy for no reason

* Of this gentleman nothing is known.

† "*Mutare necessarium est.*" Answer to correspondents, Jan. 18, 1772.

‡ Letters of Junius, No. LXVIII.

§ Mr. Robert Morris was a barrister, who took a very active part in the city disputes, and on the popular side, and was secretary to the Bill of Rights Society. For a further account of him, see note to Miscellaneous Letters, No. XCIII. He occasionally wrote in the Public Advertiser. The publication of the letter alluded to, Wilkes had attributed to a Mr. Cawdron.

‖ Lord Barrington was at this time secretary for the War Department. He had uniformly exhibited himself unfriendly to the popular cause, and when in the lower house, made the motion in 1769, for expelling Wilkes, which was seconded by Rigby. The letter that accompanied this note is numbered CV. in the Miscellaneous collection, and the signature of Junius will be found to be exchanged for that of Veteran.

but his relation to Bradshaw. I hear from all quarters, that it is looked upon as a most impudent insult to the army.—Be careful not to have it known to come from me. Such an insignificant creature is not worth the generous rage of Junius. I am impatient for the book.

No. 53.

Monday, Feb. 3, 1772.

I confess I do not see the use of the table of contents. I think it will be endless and answer no purpose;—An index of proper names and materials would in my opinion be sufficient. You may safely defy the malice of Mr. Wheble.* Whoever buys such a book will naturally prefer the author's edition, and I think it will always be a book for sale. I really am in no hurry about that set. Purling, I hear, is to come in for Eastlow.—A sure proof of the connection between him and government I would have you open any thing that may be brought you for me (except from Mr. Wilkes)—and not forward it unless it be material.

That large roll contained a Pamphlet.

No. 54.

Monday, Feb. 10, 1772.

If you have any thing to communicate, you may send it to the original place for once N. E. C.—and mention any new place you think proper, west of Temple Bar. The delay of the book spoils every thing.

No. 55.

Monday Night, Feb. 17, 1772.

Surely you have misjudged it very much about the book. I could not have conceived it possible that you could protract the publication so long.—At this time, particularly before Mr. Sawbridge's motion,† it would have been of singular use. You have trifled too long with the public expectation.—At a certain point of time the appetite palls.—I fear you have already lost

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* Wheble had already printed an imperfect edition of the letters of Junius.

† In favor of triennial parliaments.

the season.—The book, I am sure, will lose the greatest part of the effect I expected from it.—But I have done.

No. 56.

About Feb. 22. 1772.

I do you the justice to believe that the delay has been unavoidable. The expedient you propose of printing the Dedication and Preface in the P. A. is unadvisable. The attention of the public would then be quite lost to the book itself. I think your rivals will be disappointed. Nobody will apply to *them* when they can be supplied at the fountain head. I hope you are too forward to have any room for that letter of Domitian,* otherwise it is merely indifferent. The Latin I thought much superior to the English.—The intended bill, in consequence of the message, will be a most dangerous innovation in the internal policy of this country.† What an abandoned prostituted idiot is your Lord Mayor.‡ The shameful mismanagement which brought him into office, gave me the first and an unconquerable disgust.—All I can now say is, make haste with the book. C.

The appointment of this broker§ I am told gives universal disgust. That ********** || would never have taken a step apparently so absurd, if there were not some wicked design in it more than we are aware of. At any rate the broker should be run down. That at least is due to his master.

No 57.

Saturday, Feb. 29, 1772.

I am very glad to see that the book will be out before Sawbridge's motion. There is no occasion for a mark of admiration at the end of the motto. But it is of no moment whatsoever.

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* This letter, for the reason here stated, was not printed in the genuine edition.

† The bill alluded to is the Royal Marriage Act.

‡ In allusion to the partial and impolitic conduct of Mr. Nash, at this time lord mayor, upon the common questions of city politics brought before him, especially in refusing to call a common hall, agreeably to a request very generally signified to him for this purpose.

§ Chamier. || Lord Barrington.

When you see Mr. W. pray return him my thanks for the trouble he has taken. I wish he had taken more.*—I should be glad to have a set, sewed, left at the same place to-morrow evening. Let it be well sealed up. C.

No. 58.

Tuesday, March 3, 1772.

Your letter was twice refused last night, and the waiter as often attempted to see the person who sent for it.—I was impatient to see the book, and think I had a right to that attention a little before the general publication.† When I desired to have two sets sewed and one bound in vellum, it was not from a principle of economy. I despise such little savings, and shall still be a purchaser.—If I was to buy as many sets as I want, it would be remarked.

Pray let the *two* sets be well parcelled up and left at the bar of Munday's Coffee-house, Maiden Lane, with the same direction, and with orders to be delivered to a chairman, who will ask for them in the course of to-morrow evening. Farewell

No. 59.

Thursday, March 5, 1772.

Your letters with the books are come safe to hand. The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation, and necessity to which we must submit. Be assured‡ I will not give you more trouble than is unavoidable.—If the vellum books are not yet bound, I would wait for the index. If they are, let me know by a line in the P. A.—When they are ready, they may safely be left at the same place as last night.

On *your* account I was alarmed at the price of the book.—But of the sale of books I am no judge, and can only pray for your success.—What you say about the profits‡ is very handsome. I like to deal with such men. As for myself, be assured

* Mr. Wilkes, at the request of Junius, perused and revised the Dedication and Preface to the genuine edition of the letters.

† The genuine edition of the letters was published on the third of March, 1772.

‡ Woodfall made Junius an offer of half the profits of the book.

that I am far above all pecuniary views, and no other person I think has any claim to share with you. Make the most of it therefore, and let all your views in life be directed to a solid, however moderate independence. Without it no man can be happy, nor even honest.

If I saw any prospect of uniting the city once more, I would readily continue to labor in the vineyard. Whenever Mr. Wilkes can tell me that such an union is in prospect, he shall hear of me.

Quod si quis existimat me aut voluntate esse mutatâ, aut debilitatâ virtute, aut animo fracto, vehementer errat. Farewell.

In the Preface, p. 20, line 7, read unseasonable.

p. 26, — 18, — accuracy.*

Junius, in the foregoing letter, observes that, "*The difficulty of corresponding arises from situation.*" This is the first time that Junius hints at his situation as being at a distance from Woodfall's office, and it may be presumed he would not now have done so had not Woodfall been acquainted with his residence. Heretofore when any delay occured in his correspondence, he had been out of town; but the real fact now appears evident, that the country was his place of abode. John Horne resided at Brentford, about six miles from London. The reader is left to make his own inference.

The Latin quotation in this letter is thus translated by Dr. Good, and inserted in the preliminary essay to G. Woodfall's Junius.

"But if any one believes me to be changed in will, weakened in integrity, or broken in courage, he errs grossly."

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* These errors are corrected in the present edition.—*Ed.*

Notwithstanding the copy before us was printed in Philadelphia in 1813, in which many imperfections of former editions are corrected, new copies are continually issuing without amendments. This is an unpardonable neglect. On referring to a Boston stereotype edition of 1827, I find the first passage alluded to above is still printed as follows; "If he agreed in opinion with lord Mansfield, his discourse was impertinent, ridiculous, and *unreasonable.*" The last word, after the explicatives preceding it, is extremely feeble and inapplicable. —*Am. Ed.*

This passage, as connected with the preceding paragraph, has a particular reference to Wilkes, and his name might with propriety be substituted for *quis* (any one) and the passage read thus; "But if Wilkes believes me," &c. Now, could this language be used by a friend of Wilkes? Junius as a writer under that signature was on perfect good terms with Wilkes; and although there was a difference in opinion on some points, this did not lead to any expression of hostile feelings between them. In their correspondence Wilkes said, "I am satisfied that Junius now means me well, and I wish to merit more than his *regard*, his *friendship*."—"I wish to comply with every direction of Junius, to profit by his hints, and to have the permission of writing to him on any important occasion."—"I only take up the pen to say that I think myself happy in his (Junius's) approbation, that a line of applause from him gives the same brisk circulation to my spirits, as a *kiss* from Chloe, and that I mean soon to communicate to him a project of importance."

These passages express in the strongest terms the high consideration in which Junius was held by Wilkes. Nor does Junius fall short, on his part, in admiration and respect for the *virtues* of Wilkes. He says, "You will recollect, sir, that the public opinion of you *rises every day*, and that you must enlarge your plan as you proceed, since you have every day a new acquisition of *credit* to maintain." In his last letter to Wilkes, when the latter had shown symptoms of distrust, he says, "When you have satisfied your understanding that there may be reasons why Junius should attack the king, the minister, &c. and yet should *desert* or *betray* the man who attacks the house of lords, I would still appeal to your *heart*. Or if you have any scruples about that kind of evidence, ask your *amiable daughter* whom you so implicitly confide in—*is it possible that Junius should betray me?*"

It is evident from the above extracts that the foregoing Latin quotation could have no reference to these *loving* friends, Junius, as a writer under a fictitious signature, and Wilkes; but must apply to Wilkes and Junius *personally*, as enemies who had long contended, and whose contention had injured the common cause which they both professed to support.

No. 60.

May 4, 1772.

If *pars pro toto* be meant for me, I must beg the favour of you to recall it. At present it would be difficult for me to receive it.—When the books are ready, a Latin verse will be sufficient.

No. 61.

Sunday, May 6, 1772.

I am in no manner of hurry about the books. I hope the sale has answered.—I think it will always be a saleable book. The inclosed is fact, and I wish it could be printed to-morrow. It is not worth announcing. The proceedings of this wretch are unaccountable. There must be some mystery in it which I hope will soon be discovered to his confusion.—Next to the duke of Grafton, I verily believe that the blackest heart in the kingdom belongs to lord Barrington.

No. 62.

May 10, 1772.

Pray let this be announced, *Memoirs of lord Barrington in our next.* Keep the author a secret.

No. 63.

January 19, 1773.

I have seen the signals thrown out for your old friend and correspondent. Be assured that I have had good reason for not complying with them. In the present state of things, if I were to write again, I must be as silly as any of the horned cattle, that run mad through the city, or as any of your wise aldermen. I meant the cause and the public. Both are given up. I feel for the honor of this country, when I see that there are not ten men in it, who will unite and stand together upon any one question. But it is all alike, vile and contemptible.

You have never flinched that I know of; and I shall always rejoice to hear of your prosperity.

If you have any thing to communicate (of moment to yourself) you may use the last address, and give a hint

No. 64.

Sir,—I have troubled you with the perusal of two letters, as that of the prior date accounts for the delay of not sending the books sooner; and this acquaints you that I did not get them out of the bookbinder's hands till yesterday; nor though I desired them to be finished in the most elegant manner possible, are they done so well as I wished. But, sir, if the manner of the contents and index are not agreeable to you, they shall be done over again according to any directions you shall please to favour me with.—With respect to city politics, I fear the breach is too wide ever to be again closed, and even my friend Mr. Wilkes lost some of his wonted coolness at the late election on Sawbridge, Oliver, &c. scratching against him.* I hope you will believe that however agreeable to me it must be to be honored with your correspondence, I should never entertain the most distant wish that one ray of your splendour should be diminished by your continuing to write.—Mr. Wilkes indeed mentioned to me the other day that he thought the East India Company a proper subject; and asked if I could communicate any thing to you, to which my reply was that I could not tell. (as I did not know whether you might chuse to be intruded upon.) You will perceive by the papers that two persons have forced themselves upon us, who, without a tythe of Mr. Wilkes's abilities, imagine the public will look up to them as their deliverers; but they are most egregiously mistaken, as every one who possesses a grain of common sense hold them in almost utter contempt. You will probably guess who I mean, and were I capable of drawing a parallel, I should borrow some part of it from Shakespeare's Iago and Roderigo.——Should it please the Almighty to spare your life till the next general election, and I

* Mr. Wilkes and Mr. Townshend were, after a sharp contest, returned to the court of aldermen for them to make their election of one of these gentlemen to the mayoralty for the year 1772, when their choice fell upon Mr. Alderman Townshend, in consequence of Sawbridge and Oliver scratching against Wilkes. The candidates for that office, with the number which they polled, were as under.

Mr. Alderman Wilkes 2301; Townshend 2278; Halifax 2126; Shakespeare 1912.

should at that time exist. I shall hope you will deign to instruct me for whom I should give my vote, as my wish is to be represented by the most honest and able, and I know there cannot be any one who is so fit to judge as yourself. I have no connexions to warp me, nor am I acquainted with but one person who would speak to me on the subject, and that gentleman is, I believe, a true friend to the real good of his country; I mean Mr. Glover, the author of Leonidas. As I thought sergeant Glynn deserving of something more than the mere fees of his profession, for the pains he took upon my trial, I have made a purchase of a small freehold at Brentford by way of qualification, in order to convince him, if he should offer himself at the next election, whenever it should happen, that I hold his services in grateful remembrance. But I am since informed that it is not his intention, and that lord Percy is to be joined with sir W. B. Proctor, who is to be supported by the duke of Northumberland's interest.—I have heard much of a most trimming letter from Mr. Stewart to lord Mansfield on the Douglass cause, but cannot possibly get a copy, which probably would be a good letter to print.

If, sir, you should not disapprove of the contents and index, I thought of advertising them in the manner of the enclosed form, if I have your permission so to do, but not otherwise.—May I beg the favour of a line in answer? Believe me, sir, to be, with gratitude and respect, your much obliged humble servant to command,

HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL.

Sunday, March 7, 1773.

Sawbridge, notwithstanding the assurances of Junius to the contrary, continued, as Junius knew and intended he should, a decided opponent of Wilkes. Of his friendship and that of Oliver and Townshend for Horne, sufficient notice has been taken. I will add a short account of Mr. Glynn, to whom Mr. Woodfall presented a freehold at Brentford, taken from Stephens's memoirs.

"Mr. Sergeant Glynn.

This gentleman, who was an able and celebrated lawyer, lived in great friendship with Mr. Horne, and was indebted to him for being chosen one of the knights of the shire for Middlesex, without the expenditure of a single shilling. He was afterwards, on account of his upright conduct, elected recorder of the city of London, and thus sat in parliament for the first county, while he acted as the judge and legal adviser of the first city in the empire, until his death. He had exerted himself with equal energy and ability against lord Mansfield's doctrine of attachment for a supposed contempt in case of libel, and was the first practitioner who had dared to controvert the legal opinion of the chief justice. He had also given his gratuitous assistance during the late contests. The following are the precise words in which he was recommended to the county by Mr. Horne:—'I beg leave to present Mr. Glynn to your choice. I know his principles to be as firm, and his heart as incorruptible, as his conduct is modest and moderate, and his abilities uncontradicted.'"

During the dispute between Mr. Horne and Mr. Wilkes, he (Glynn) bore testimony to the unjust accusation adduced against his friend, by means of the following letter:—

Jan. 16, 1771.

"The charge against the rev. Mr. Horne, as far as respects my election, is false and groundless: with regard to the other charges, my experience of the *integrity* and *disinterestedness* of Mr. Horne entitles him to my testimony, if his general character had not made it totally unnecessary.

C. GLYNN."

Thus it appears that the friends of Junius, the rev. Mr. John Horne and Henry Sampson Woodfall, are inseparable, the pretended quarrel of Junius and Horne to the contrary notwithstanding.

APPENDIX.

No. 1.

THE ELOQUENCE OF JUNIUS.

VIEWED IN COMPARISON WITH THAT OF OTHER ORATORICAL WRITERS, ANCIENT AND MODERN.

By ROBERT HERON, Esq.

Mr. Heron appears to have studied his author with the most minute and circumspect attention, and in an eloquent and masterly essay, prefixed to his edition of Junius, has unwittingly portrayed the character, the acquirements, the talents and sentiments, in short, the very life of John Horne Tooke, as the following extracts will show.

"Junius is, of all orators ancient or modern, he who keeps the most steadily in view the object of his eloquence. A few sacrifices he indeed makes to personal vanity, and to the pride of conscious ability and success. In his first letter, he wished to alarm administration,—to assume the character of a presiding demon, in regard to the discontents of the people and the malice of faction,—to show, at once, that depth of understanding, and that energetic vehemence of passion, which were requisite to make even persons of a character of intellect superior to that of the multitude, gladly rank themselves behind him, as their leader. Such were, obviously, his purposes. Is there a line in his Introductory Letter which does not tend, in the strongest and most direct manner, to consummate them?"

"Inconsiderate persons have alleged, that, of all the adversaries

of Junius, Horne approached the nearest to him in controversial art. But, the truth is, that Junius, when he spared Horne, spared him for the sake of his adherents, and in order to prevent the threatened division of the city patriots.* In the attack on lord Mansfield, it may seem that undisguised virulence is suffered to burst forth injudiciously; and I should think, that, in one or two instances in it, prudence must have been lost in particular resentment.† But Junius knew that the character of fearless boldness, in his invectives, was his best recommendation to authority with the mob. Lord Mansfield, too, was at that time exceedingly odious to all ranks of those who were in the same party with Junius; and he was, really, and perhaps not altogether unjustly, believed to be, as a lawyer and judge, too favorable to the influence of prerogative in the courts, and ready to advance its authority by introducing the maxims of the imperial law of Rome, into the interpretation of the laws of England. Hence, boldness to arraign him, talents powerful to cover him with confusion, and pertinacious vehemence returning incessantly to the attack, and urging it with fury, were peculiarly adapted to produce against lord Mansfield, that strong effect which Junius hoped from them."

"His letters abound with those deep and general, yet original, observations on human character, and on the fortunes of human life, which can be produced only by genius and judgment matured by experience, and fully informed by much and various converse both with books and with mankind. His observations have the sententiousness, the profundity, and even a cast of the malignity of those of Tacitus: they breathe somewhat of the solemn pensive wisdom of Johnson: and they mingle with these qualities, the

* To say, *Junius spared Horne*, is to admit that Horne obtained a victory over him; and *inconsiderate persons*, it seems, are not aware of the views of Junius in permitting it. I have before commented upon the reason here given, and I believe shown that it is untenable and insufficient. This is the important point upon which the whole controversy about Junius mainly depends. I contend, and have endeavored to prove, that the dispute was an amicable one, or rather, that both sides of the question were maintained by the same person. The great difficulty that commentators have had to account for the lameness of Junius in this case, is a strong evidence of the fact.

† Mr. Horne, in a great number of instances has shown a *particular*, an invetgrate, an unconquerable *resentment* towards lord Mansfield. One of the first productions of his pen was a violent philippic against him

lively and keenly sarcastic discrimination of Swift. But, they possess, besides, a *race* of originality. They are not borrowed from the stores of those writers, but add new riches to the common stock. Junius thinks like Johnson, like Tacitus, like Swift: but he does not *tamely echo their thoughts.* He is another and a greater master in the school of artists, not *a mere copyist.* It is by this grand quality in a particular manner, that the true critic may easily distinguish between the writings of Junius, and those of the *puerile imitators* of his eloquence, to whom, for lack of a known owner, his letters have been sometimes hastily ascribed. Had he no other power of eloquence: were his letters destitute of all those anecdotes by which they are so interesting to malignant curiosity: did they not perpetuate the memory of one of the most important popular contentions that have not been carried to a destructive height; did they even not preserve the political manners of England for the time, with all the force of an historical painting adding the comic manner of the Dutch, to the epic grandeur of the Italian school; yet, *on account solely of the great original truths which these letters contain, they would deserve to be studied, with unwearied diligence, by readers of every class, from the school-boy* of the highest form, to the statesman and the philosopher."

"The knowledge of such general truths, can be the result only of an extensive, minute, and accurate knowledge in detail, of the characters, manners, tortunes, interests, and changing humours of a great variety of individuals. That Junius certainly possessed this knowledge—has been stated in speaking of the propriety and judgment with which he makes every thing co-operate in every letter towards the *close design.* Examine his account of any one character that is the subject of his praise or invective! He may,—indeed, he does often, maliciously depart from the truth; but he departs with a verisimilitude, and with a skill in flattery or caricature, which more strikingly evince his knowledge of the turns of character and passion, than if he had rigorously adhered to the truth. In the contest with sir William Draper, how he probes the soul! With what art he tortures a man of no mean talents, to confession! He was thought to have dwelt with outrageous severity towards the duke of Bedford: and never was there a more masterly stroke in eloquence, than that with which he contrives to disarm the public resentment, and to deprive the duke of that sympathy which seemed to have been raised in his favor, by representing

him as utterly *unfeeling, and a stranger to that distress which public compassion supposed* him to have suffered from the invectives of Junius."

"In *physical science* he appears to have had considerable information. He induces from it some of his happiest and most impressive allusions. He introduces them with an ease and propriety which evince him to have clearly and powerfully apprehended the principles of the sciences to which they belong. Of that *chemistry* which was known at the time when he wrote, he was considerably a master. He was not ignorant of the principles and the forms of demonstration belonging to *mathematics*. Of that which is, by way of eminence, called *natural philosophy*, he seems to have had, also, a competent knowledge."

"His acquaintance with the classical writers of Greece and Rome, is sufficiently evinced by the character of his composition, resembling the force and compression of Demosthenes, of Thucydides, of Sallust, and of Tacitus. It is proved by the splendor of his metaphors, worthy of Virgil, Pindar, and Homer. It is plain, also from his quotations and allusions expressly indicating, that he had certain passages of Tacitus and others, within his recollection, at different times, while he wrote. It is easy to perceive, that he had added to the study of the ancient classics, that, also, of the best French writers. Montesquieu, whose style and manner of composition had been for about five and twenty years before Junius wrote, highly popular in England,—had undoubtedly been, in a very particular manner, the subject of his study. And, it is evident, that he was no stranger to the wit of Voltaire, nor always averse from imitating it. Of English writers, I should conceive him to have been conversant chiefly with Locke, Chillingworth, Bolingbroke, Robertson, Johnson, and with some of the pieces of Shebbeare. Undoubtedly, he was much conversant with books of law, and with the simple precise writings belonging to actual business."

"Whence had he that readiness of disrespectful allusion to the Bible, and the ceremonies of religion, which is so often displayed in these letters? *Perhaps from familiar acquaintance with the Holy Scriptures the Book of Common Prayer, and the ordinary services of the church:** More probably, from the imitation of Vol-

* It is a wonder that Mr. Heron, when he wrote the above passage, did not think of *parson Horne*.

faire, Pope, and other wits, whose attempts to make the ceremonies of religion, subjects of profane merriment, were, thirty years since, too much admired by persons who should have had piety and taste to disdain and check the abuse. Or shall I venture to conjecture, that Chillingworth and Pascal were much studied by him, even while he was engaged in the composition of these letters; and, that like every other writer, he insensibly transferred into his own works, some striking allusions from the books which he read? His allusions to religion, so far as they are contemptuous, relate chiefly to the absurdities of the Roman Catholic religion; a fact from which we may fairly infer, either that the course of his education and the *incidents of his life*, led him into a *particular acquaintance* with these, and an indignant disgust against them,* or else that he, in this instance, merely echoed the voices of Pascal and Chillingworth."

"His knowledge of the constitutional law was great and accurate. But the consideration of this knowledge in detail is reserved to be the subject of a separate essay. But, knowledge considered separately from the active energies of genius which are in habitual exertion, will never account sufficiently for the production of such a work as these letters. What were, then, the habits and personal character of this Junius?—It is sufficiently clear, that his understanding was naturally, and by the whole train of culture which it had received, a vigorous one. It must have been in habits of incessant activity: never languishing in a feeble, careless diffusion of its *conceptions*; never satisfying itself with half-discernment, nor

* The residence of Mr. Home in France and Italy, gave him full opportunity to become well acquainted with the Roman Catholic religion. For his opinion of it, see p. 111, this volume. To which may be added the following observations made by him in opposition to England's interfering in behalf of Spain, in 1808.

"The Spaniards, he declared, were so degenerate a people, that every change must be for the better; even conquest and subjugation themselves, horrible as they doubtless were, ought to be contemplated as a melioration of their condition. What, but the sword of a foreign and more enlightened nation, could dispel such an odious superstition? such gross and horrid ignorance? so despicable and perfidious reliance on popery and priestcraft? Had we not heard that the sacred tribunal was protected, supported, and encouraged by the new government? that the banners of the holy office were to be unfolded on the side of liberty? and that the inquisition was to raise a regiment to combat in its behalf?—a regiment of inquisitors combating for the freedom of a brave nation!—foolish! ridiculous!—execrable!"

with obscure knowledge; ever searching for the strongest relations of contrariety or resemblance in the ideas it compared; chastening constantly the train of thought that passed through it, so as not to suffer remote and feeble associations to supplant, in that train, associations close, strong, and direct. The first principles embodied into its very texture, were those rather of jurisprudence and logic than of metaphysics. Its reasonings were habitually, in the cast of those of the lawyer and the polemical logician. It was, however, evidently more accustomed to detect the sophisms of others, than to adhere inflexibly to attain truth for itself. It cannot have been, at any time, left to slumber in idleness."

"His *fancy*,—that energy of the mind which is employed, not in deducing truth, but in picturing impressive possibilities,—appears to have been very powerful. Reading and the observations of life, though not of exterior nature, supplied it with abundant materials. It was often roused to activity by glowing passion. It was often employed in embodying the abstractions of reason and of science. It burns in all the higher efforts of his eloquence. Its very presence seems entirely lost whenever the plain closeness of ratiocination, or the simplicity of the style of business, are alone required for the writer's purpose. Never was fancy so vigorous, more perfectly under the control of propriety and reason. It is that sort of *fancy* which has its origin from vigor of understanding, and instead of impairing that vigor, serves but to animate and strengthen it. Its efforts in these letters must have been the result of long previous habit. They cannot have been the first attempts of an untried energy.

"It is easy to perceive, that the writer of these letters, was a man of strong glowing *passions*. That his passions were not wildly frantic or irregularly capricious, is sufficiently evident. They never lost sight of reason and utility. But, they must have been high, impetuous, and while they yielded in part, to the constraint of reason, must also have had power to make his reason become, to a certain degree, subservient to their rage. The objects of these passions, seem, however, to have been truth, power, liberty, the triumph of genius, and the humiliation of those who were hated for rival interests or dishonest intentions. The mind of the writer must have been nurtured to this cast and tone of passion. He could not have thus displayed them, if they had not been habitually predominant in

his breast from early youth to the prime of manhood.* His greatest weaknesses of passion are a wild intemperance of rage which sometimes carries the stroke beyond its own aim,—and a literary vanity which sometimes exults beyond measure in the success of his eloquence."

"There is nothing in these letters, from which we can infer their author to have been in his moral habits, either very bad or uncommonly good. That his moral feelings were eagerly alive, sufficiently appears. But, it is not improbable, that their exercise might be directed much rather upon the conduct of others, than on his own. These passions, these moral sentiments, such a fancy, and so vigorous an understanding, with all the stores of knowledge with which they were furnished, bespeak a character in the prime of mature manhood,† practically acquainted with active and contemplative life, conversant more probably in *juridical*, but certainly *political* business, full of ambition, and certainly not writing these letters merely for political amusement, nor concealing that he was the author, upon any other reason, than the inevitable ruin of his hopes and fortunes, if he were as such publicly known."

"It is from the tenor of the following letters, that these facts concerning the oratorical and personal character of their author, are inferred. Let his character as an orator,—let the qualities of the eloquence in these letters,—be compared with whatever in the same way, either ancient or modern eloquence can produce; the result of the comparison will, certainly, not be disadvantageous to Junius. In knowledge of the principles and modifications of human character, in skill to sway the passions of the multitude, in extent and accuracy of general science, in ardent oratorical intrepidity, and in the habitual exercise of shrewdness and prudence, Demosthenes was not his superior. Of the technical knowledge of the rhetorician, of the dialectics and ethics of the schools of that age, Cicero possessed, undeniably, a larger portion than can be

* The biography of Horne shows in a very striking manner the applicability of the above sentiments to him. In one of his earliest known productions, he thus expresses himself: "Spirit of Hampden, Russel, Sidney! animate my countrymen! I invoke not your assistance for myself; for I was born *indeed a freeman*," &c. See page 121, this volume.

† John Horne was in the thirty-third year of his age when the first letter under the signature of Junius (included in the author's edition) appeared.

with truth ascribed to Junius. But, in fearless, manly energy of soul, in independent decision of mind, in invigorating and commanding self-confidence, in the power of bringing knowledge by the nearest way to the uses of business, we must not venture to compare the Roman orator with the English.—It is true, that, in his famous letter to D'Alembert on the influence of theatrical exhibitions upon public morality,—in his answer to those who attempted the refutation of his paradoxical opinions concerning the relation of science to the happiness of human life, in his epistle of Self-Defence, to Beaumont Archbishop of Paris,—Rousseau has, no doubt, exercised some of the best powers of the true orator. But, his eloquence continually wanted that foundation in the principles of common sense, and that application to the real affairs of men without which eloquence is but the amusement of romantic ingenuity. His knowledge was less than that of the author of these letters. The letters of Junius have been even attributed to the late Mr. Burke. But, Burke, though he had of the forms and exterior apparatus of knowledge perhaps much more than Junius, had of its soul, its quintessence, its elementary principles, greatly less. In sound and manly sense, and in oratorical discretion, he was greatly inferior. His knowledge and learning continually *overwhelm* his eloquence so as not seldom to weaken its effects. He had not at all that insight into human character which so conspicuously appears in the letters of Junius. He knew not to sacrifice the ostentation of eloquence to persuasive effect. He used still to affect the rhetorician and the man of letters, when he should have thought only of doing business in the shortest and most decisive way. No: he was not at all equal to the composition of these letters. His eloquence had ever in it much of the diffusion of Cicero's, and the romance of Rousseau's: but Rousseau was often more logical than Burke.—There is great resemblance between the oratorical efforts of the late Mirabeau, and those of Junius. Mirabeau has indeed more than Junius of what seems an unseasonable use of metaphysics. Yet, there was perhaps good sense in the use of metaphysics to persuade those to whom Mirabeau had to address himself. In similar circumstances Junius might possibly have done as much. David Williams does not indeed possess that deep and various knowledge which is displayed in these letters. In discarding from his mind, the prejudices of precedent and old vulgar opinion, he has certainly gone too far towards adopting the prejudices of inno-

vation in the different subjects of scientific inquiry. Yet, from his writings may be gleaned passages approaching more nearly than any to be found in the writings of other English writers, to the general energy of thought, the fire of sentiment, the shrewd discrimination, and the closeness of reasoning, which distinguish Junius. Williams, too, unites energy with natural simplicity of style, more successfully than has been done by Junius in the most elaborately eloquent parts of his letters. There are in the Letters of an Old Statesman to a Young Prince, which I suppose the work of Williams, a few occasional paragraphs which no writer ancient or modern has ever excelled. There are in the writings of the late Dr. Gilbert Stuart, and in those of his imitator Godwin, occasional touches of an eloquence simpler in style, yet scarce less energetic than that of Junius. But, neither Stuart nor Godwin shows any thing of that deep knowledge of human character, or that skill in affairs, of which the writer of the letters of Junius was indisputably possessed."

"The power of classical allusion, the familiar acquaintance with the rites of the Romish religion, the admirable skill in the nicest points of constitutional law which appear in the following letters, are qualities well known not to have belonged even to the manly and accomplished mind of Hamilton."*

"In the whole, excuse malignity, vanity, an occasional excess of epigramm tic turns, a structure of sentences sometimes labored to harshness and almost to obscurity, with a few incongruities of metaphor: and these letters must be owned to be, in all other respects, probably the most vigorous and faultless specimen of human eloquence, that the world has yet seen."

No. II.

EXAMINATION OF H. S. WOODFALL.

An abstract of the testimony and cross-examination of Henry S. Woodfall, on the trial of John Horne, in 1777, before lord Mansfield and a special jury, for an alleged libel against the government, in publishing the advertisement, in June 1775, as recorded in page 375, this volume.

This is probably the most singular cross-examination that ever

* W. Gerard Hamilton, who had been suspected to be author of Junius.—*Am. Ed*

took place in any court. The ostensible object of the defendant appears to be to strengthen the testimony of the witness against him; whilst his real motive evidently was to endeavour to show, that his constant practice was to direct the printer to furnish the fullest evidence against him for every thing published at his request, in case he, the printer, should be called to account for the same, and thereby destroy at once every possible conjecture that he could be the author of Junius's letters. Upon any other supposition, the folly and absurdity of his conduct upon this occasion, would exhibit him as one of the weakest and most trifling of men. His fictious quarrel with Junius, to be sure, had done wonders in his behalf; but still that does not appear to have been sufficient completely to quiet his own mind, and every collateral means is resorted to for the purpose of quashing any germ of suspicion.

HENRY SAMPSON WOODFALL, SWORN.

Examined by Mr. Wallace.—What business are you?—A printer. Do you print any newspaper?—Yes. What paper?—The Public Advertiser. Look at these two papers, (showing the witness the manuscripts of the advertisements.) The witness inspects the manuscripts. Have you ever seen these papers before?—Yes. When did you see the first of them?—About the 7th of June, 1775, as near as I can recollect. By what means did you come by the sight of it?—Mr. Horne, the defendant, gave it me. For what purpose?—To publish in the Public Advertiser. Did you accordingly publish it?—I did. Had you any other directions from Mr. Horne?—Yes.—He desired me to send it to several other papers, which I did. Do you recollect the names of any of them?—The whole, I believe, of them; I cannot exactly recollect. Did you follow his directions?—I did. Was any thing paid for it? Yes. Mr. Horne paid the bill. For the publication?—Yes.

[The reader will observe that the case was fully made out, that nothing further was required, and that what follows, in the cross-examination, was impertinent in the extreme.]

Cross-examined by the Defendant.

Mr. Horne.—*I am very glad to see you*, Mr. Woodfall. I desire to ask you some questions. Pray, what was your motive for inserting that advertisement?—Your desire. Had you no other motive?

—I was paid for it, as advertisements are paid for. Pray, was it by accident or by my desire, that there should be a witness to see me write that advertisement?—By your desire. And did I, or did I not, formally, before that witness, when called in, deliver that paper as my act and deed, as if it had been a bond?—Yes. It is true I did.—Did I not always direct you, if called upon, to furnish the fullest proof that you could give?—You did, sir. Now, then, sir, if you please, say whether I have ever written anything in your newspaper before?—Yes, frequently. How many years ago, do you think?—The first remarkable thing that I remember, was something about sir John Gibbons, about his mistaking Easter for a feast or a fast. How long ago is that?—About the year 1768, about the election time. That is about nine years ago?—Yes. Have I at any time desired you to screen me from the laws?—No. Has not the method of my transactions with you at all times been, that you should at all times, for your own sake, if called upon, give me up to justice?—Certainly that has always been your desire. Pray, sir, were you not once called upon by the house of commons for something that I wrote in your paper?—Yes, sir. Do you remember that I did, or did not, when I took care to furnish such full proof of this advertisement, give you the reason for it?—I cannot say I recollect the reason. I will mention it.—Whether was this the reason. That in the last transaction before the house of commons, it was pretended they let me off, because they could not get full evidence. Do you remember whether I rehearsed that or not; and said, that if they now chose to take notice of this advertisement, they should not want full evidence?—I do recollect that conversation. You remember that was the reason I gave?—I do. Will you please to look at these newspapers?

[Here Mr. Horne artfully skips over the whole time of Junius, and shows to the witness several papers of the Public Advertiser from May 30, 1775, to June 30, 1777, and proceeds.]

Pray, sir, do you recollect the contents of the paper of May 30, 1775?—No, upon my soul I do not. You are upon your oath.—I know that indeed. Read that part (pointing a part out;) read from "In provincial congress, April 26, 1774," down to that part (pointing it out.) Mr. Wallace.—The officer should read it: though not

now. You will be entitled to read it, when you come to your defence.

[Mr. Horne then asks the witness a number of questions respecting Mr. Arthur Lee, not apparently very important to his cause, and continues :]

When were you first applied to, or were you ever applied to, to be a witness in this cause?—I was not. You never were?—No. How came you to be an evidence?—I heard that if I could produce my author, matters might be better for me; and as you had no sort of objection, (which you told me at the time) I did, of course, produce those copies that appeared there, to Messrs. Chamberlayne and White, the solicitors for the treasury. Should you, at any time, if you had been called upon, have declared that I was the author of that advertisement?—Most certainly; for you desired it. And would have given your evidence?—Yes. Whom was the application made by?—It was no sort of application at all; I heard of it. By whom?—My brother. You never refused to furnish evidence against the author?—No. You never were applied to, to do it?—No; I was not. You have said that *I never desired you to conceal me from the law for any thing you published from me.* Did you never receive any message not to insert any thing in your paper about lord Mansfield's earldom?—No. Upon your oath?—Upon my oath, to the best of my recollection, I never did. From any quarter?—No. Sir, were you ever sent for by lord Bute?—No; I never saw him. Were you not sent for, for inserting a paragraph about the king's marriage?—No; I am not consulted by the higher powers, I assure you. *If I had thought you were, I never should have trusted you: I do not think you are.*—I am much obliged to you for your good opinion, Mr. Horne.—I will give you no more trouble.

It must be remembered, that when Mr. Woodfall was prosecuted for publishing Junius's letter to the king, he did not then know the author, and he might therefore safely testify as he has done in this case, as Mr. Horne did not personally apply to him on that occasion. There are two or three instances in which Mr. Horne gave up his name to the printer, when he was confident the law would bear him

out. He was always sanguine in the opinion that his conviction on the trial under consideration, was contrary to law.

I notice the following sentiment expressed by Mr. Horne upon this occasion:

"The nature of a libel always makes a jury the best judges of it. For a libel (if it be so) is indeed for mischief, it must therefore be intelligible to the people; or no mischief could be produced by it. If a man writes a libel that a common jury could not understand (and you are a special jury, gentlemen) he must fail in his design."

Junius, in the Preface to his letters, observes: "But the truth is, that if a paper, supposed to be a libel upon government, be so obscurely worded, that twelve common men cannot possibly see the seditious meaning and tendency of it, it is in effect no libel. It cannot inflame the minds of the people, nor alienate their affections from government; for they no more understand what it means, than if it were published in a language unknown to them."

In the foregoing there is no servile, verbal imitation, on the part of Mr. Horne, as in the case of Mr. Francis, but the expression of a similar sentiment in other words, carrying an evidence of the same genius and person in different situations.

There is a remarkable coincidence of sentiment in Junius's dedication of his letters and Horne's opening dialogue on the English language, in his Diversions of Purley, which I will notice in this place.

Junius says, "When kings and ministers are forgotten, when the force and direction of personal satire is no longer understood, and when measures are only felt in their remotest consequences; this book will, I believe, be found to contain principles worthy to be transmitted to posterity. When you leave the unimpaired hereditary freehold to your children, you do but half your duty. Both liberty and property are precarious, unless the possessors have sense and spirit enough to defend them."

Mr. Horne, in the commencement of the dialogue, which is feignedly carried on with his friend, Dr. Beadon, makes the following remarks upon his political principles:

"But I am well contented that *my principles*, which have made so many of your way of thinking angry, should only make you laugh. Such however as they are, they need not now be defended by me: for they have stood the test of ages; and they will keep their ground, in the general *commendation* of the world, till men

forget to love themselves; though, till then perhaps, they are not likely to be seen (nor credited if seen) in the *practice* of many individuals."

The word *commendation*, in the copy before me, is printed in italics, and no doubt was so in the author's edition, and had reference, in my opinion, to the general approbation and applause with which the principles maintained in the letters of Junius had been hailed.

Mr. Horne upon this occasion makes allusion to his suffering in the American cause, at the commencement of our revolution. This however, though true, is a mere finesse. He never advocated republican government, but was always a stanch friend to the English monarchy.

No. III.

DESTRUCTION OF THE JESUITS IN FRANCE.

Junius, in Miscellaneous letters, No. 21, April, 1768, says, "I remember seeing Busembaum, Suarez, Molina, and a score of other Jesuitical books, burnt at Paris for their *sound casuistry*, by the hands of the common hangman." This remark has occasioned a little inquiry in regard to the time or times at which the destruction of the books of the Jesuits took place, and whether or not some of those for whom the authorship of Junius is claimed could have been witnesses of the event. Although I place little confidence in declarations of Junius respecting himself, yet as there was little danger of detection to be apprehended from the exposition of a circumstance of this kind, it is highly probable that Junius here states a fact. And having met with nothing that militated against the claims of the person to whom I attribute the letters, out of mere curiosity, I took the trouble to examine the case, and the result is as follows:—

On the 6th of August, 1761, the parliament of Paris took into consideration the constitutions of the Jesuits, and also extracts from their writings, which they had caused to be made for that purpose; but deferred a final judgment upon them for one year. They however at the same time "ordained provisionally the shutting up of their (the Jesuits) college on the first of October following: the king, notwithstanding the representations of the parliament, prorogued this time till the first of April.

The parliament then declared to the principal of the college,

that nothing more remained to them but to put a stop to their lectures, by the first of April, 1762. From that time the colleges were shut up, and the society began seriously to despair of its fortune. At length the 6th of August, 1762, the day so wished for by the public, arrived: the institute was unanimously condemned by the parliament, without any opposition on the part of the sovereign; their vows were declared not binding, the Jesuits secularised and dissolved, and their effects alienated and sold." See D'Alembert's "Account of the destruction of the Jesuits in France." English translation, London, 1766.

"On the 17th of Aug. 1762, one hundred and sixty-four works, theses, and pamphlets containing resolves of the society of Jesus, were, by order of the parliament, torn and burnt in the court of the palace by the hands of the executioner." See "Calendrier Jesuitique pour l'année 1828."

"In the month of Nov. 1764, an edict of the king decided the general and definitive expulsion of the Jesuits." See "Histoire civile, phisique et morale de Paris"—1825, Vol. 7, p. 499.

From the time of the condemnation of the institution of the Jesuits, to their final expulsion from France, it is probable many bonfires of their books took place, at some one of which Mr. Horne was likely to be present, for he was in France "considerably more than a year" during that period.

Mr. D'Alembert observes, that "the volume of assertions, extracted from the books of the Jesuits, condemned by the magistrates, had been preceded some years before by the condemnation of the work of the Jesuit Busembaum, in which the doctrine of king-killing is openly maintained: the copy on which this condemnation was pronounced, bore date 1757."

No. IV.

EULOGY ON JOHN HORNE TOOKE,

BY SIR FRANCIS BURDETT.

I shall preface this short eulogy with an account of the intimacy and friendship subsisting between the parties, extracted from Stephens's Memoirs, as follows:

In 1797, an event occurred, that contributed not a little to vary the life and gratify the feelings of Mr. Tooke. This was the introduction of sir Francis Burdett, as a constant visitor and guest

at Wimbledon. The baronet then represented Boroughbridge in parliament; and, having heard much of the talents and acquirements of the philologist, was desirous of his acquaintance. An intimacy soon took place, which at length ripened into friendship. They not only conversed daily, but actually studied together; and I have been given to understand, that, during the first year or two of their intercourse, several of the Latin classics were perused, and many of the favorite passages elucidated, explained, and commented upon.

Towards this gentleman the politician of Wimbledon always exhibited a marked regard, an unvarying attention, and the most tender solicitude. He was zealous for his welfare, and seemed to participate in his growing fame and popularity. If report be true, soon after their first acquaintance, he endeavoured to form his mind to public business, and acted the same part by him, that Socrates had done by Alcibiades.

That it was his aim to render sir Francis serviceable to the commonwealth, and that his views respecting him were pure and disinterested, will be readily believed by such only as have shared his confidence, studied his character, or were acquainted with his ruling passion. Whatever may be the event, his good intentions can never be called in question by his friends: and I have always thought, that the celebrated epistle from Plutarch to his disciple Trajan, might, with a very trifling alteration, be deemed appropriate in this place:

"If you make honor and patriotism the rules of your conduct, and the end of your actions, every thing will proceed in harmony and order. I have explained to you the spirit of those laws and that constitution, that were established by our ancestors, and you have nothing to do, but endeavour to carry them into execution.

Should this be the case, I shall possess the glory of having formed a statesman to virtue; but, if otherwise, let this letter testify that you did not endanger the empire, under pretence of my counsels or authority."

Sir Francis was in the constant habit of repairing to Mr. Tooke's during many years, and their daily intercourse was not a little facilitated by the proximity of their houses, which happened to be only a few hundred yards distant from each other. At the Sunday dinners, he was generally placed on the right hand of his host; and on other occasions, took his seat any where, without ceremony

He always appeared to me, to be modest, unassuming, and rather taciturn. As to his political tenets, I shall not say any thing, either in commendation or dispraise, the public being already in full possession of his opinions, on all the great topics that have lately occurred."

From the London Statesman.

"Sir.—The following lines (written by sir Francis Burdett, Bart.) are on the pedestal of a beautiful marble bust of John Horne Tooke, a good likeness, executed about twelve years ago by the late Mr. Banks, statuary, in Newman-street. I took a copy of the lines on the 5th of October, 1800, for my own use; perhaps the readers of the Statesman may be gratified, were you to spare a small space for their insertion. I believe the bust is now in the possession of sir Francis Burdett, Piccadilly. I am, sir, yours very respectfully, T. H.

Sept. 26, 1811.

Behold the man who, touch'd by human woe,
Stood, *though alone*, oppression's constant foe:
With reason's light reviv'd the patriot flame,
And dragg'd forth public guilt to public shame.
Fell vengeance arm'd corruption's harpy tribe,
And strove to murder whom she could not bribe.
Dauntless he brav'd the storm; still undismay'd,
Proclaim'd the people and their rights betray'd;
Made tyrants tremble on their blood-stain'd throne,
And truth and freedom mark'd him for their own.

From the close intimacy that existed between sir Francis Burdett and Mr. Tooke, it is evident that the former must have possessed the full confidence of the latter, and therefore knew whether or not he was the author of Junius. If he were not, sir Francis could not, with any show of propriety, have expressed himself in the manner he has. The poet's license by no means justifies such extreme departure from truth. If Junius was distinct from Horne Tooke, the latter could not, by the greatest latitude allowed to figurative speech, be said to have carried on the warfare against the government singly. Junius had too great a share in that business to admit the assumption. But admitting Horne Tooke to be Junius, the license here taken is excusable; for the burden appears to have fallen almost exclusively upon Junius. He says himself, in a postscript to his private letter to Wilkes of Sept. 7,

1771, "I will not omit this opportunity of observing to you, that *I am not properly supported* in the newspapers. As to myself it is of little moment. I can brush away the swarming insects whenever I think proper. But it is bad policy to let it appear, in any instance, that we have *not numbers* as well as justice of our side." And in a letter to the same, Nov. 6, 1771, he says, "Besides the falibility natural to us all, no man writes under so great disadvantages as I do. I cannot consult the learned. I cannot directly ask the opinion of my acquaintance, and in the newspapers *I am never assisted.*"

Junius, therefore, was the person to whom the lines of sir Francis Burdett peculiarly applied. They could be applied to no other.

No. V.

JUNIUS DISCOVERED.

Mr. Barker has given several versions of an account of the discovery of Junius, from which the following is extracted:

"Five letters are deposited in the archives of the Grenville family at Stowe, which establish, beyond the possibility of doubt, the real author of Junius. This eminent individual was politically connected with Mr. George Grenville, the grandfather of the present duke of Buckingham, from whom these autograph-proofs have descended to the present possessor. The venerable statesman has requested the discovery should not be published during his lifetime.

The simple history of the discovery is, that some six weeks ago, as lord Nugent and his grace of Buckingham were private-paper hunting in the Stowe-library, they lit upon a parcel studiously concealed in a, to them, unknown recess. The parcel contained three letters: one from Junius under his fictitious signature: another to George Grenville asking for legal advice as to the risk of publishing the *letter to the king with the real name*; and a third, enclosing Junius's letter to lord Mansfield, with the author's initials.† References are made in the last to a letter from George Grenville

* This communication is dated Oct. 1827.

† Junius's first letter to lord Mansfield was sent to Mr Woodfall for publication Nov. 12, 1770, and the decease of Mr. George Grenville occurred in that month.—*Am. Ed.*

to the author. The duke went off post-haste to Dropmore with the parcel. Lord Grenville at once recognised it, and declared his intention of providing for the publicity of the documents after his death — but not till then. At his request, the duke and lord Nugent have pledged themselves to silence, till that event shall have taken place; and thus I, and all others interested in the matter, are forced to stifle our curiosity as well as we can. Curiosity is a questionable phrase here — it smacks of Eve and Eve's daughters. I care not who wrote the letters: but I wish to know, as a curious chapter in the history of the human mind, the motives, which impelled the great libeller in the first instance to write those matchless productions at such an expense of time and trouble; and which urged him to conceal himself, when the storm had passed over, and when the fame of those letters was far more than a counterbalance to the risk of the discovery. After all, I fear I shall not have a hundred years to wait for the gathering of the noble statesman to the last mansion of his fathers."

It is added, that lord Grenville said, "He (Junius) is not any of the persons suspected." This assertion, if made, will by no means invalidate the claims of Mr. Horne Tooke. The work of Mr. Thicknesse in favor of Tooke, before adverted to, seems not to have caused the least notice whatever, and it is very probable that lord Grenville never saw or heard of the production. A writer in the Literary Gazette, Jan. 12, 1828, (see Barker, p. 309.) observes, "From Blakeway's two pamphlets it appears that he, (Horne Tooke) encouraged the notion that the *letters* were written by HIMSELF!" So astonished was the writer, or the publisher of the Gazette, that Tooke should have any pretensions to be Junius, that the word *himself* is printed, as above, in capitals, followed by a note of admiration. This astonishment arose, no doubt, from the effect produced by his supposed quarrel with Junius. His abilities were never called in question.

The above remark is the only notice taken of Mr. Tooke, in reference to the letters of Junius, in Mr. Barker's book, in which the claims of others are fully discussed. Let it be remembered also, that his biographer makes no mention of any suspicion resting on him in this respect; and that Mr. G. Woodfall, who investigated the pretentions of all others brought forward previously to the publication of his Junius, is silent as to those of Mr. Tooke. Mr. Woodfall, to be sure, gives a fac-simile of his hand-writing

among others who had been named as the author, but neglects him entirely in the body of the work, which is equivalent to saying, his claims are unworthy of notice. Mr. Woodfall knew to the contrary, as I have endeavored to prove, and therefore, the course taken by him, as before observed, is one of the strongest evidences in favor of Mr. Tooke.

The foregoing facts fully show that Mr. Tooke has never been fairly before the public as a candidate for the honor of writing the letters of Junius, and therefore that the remark of lord Grenville does not affect his claims. If true, however, it is a death-blow to the pretensions of all others heretofore named.

Mr. George Grenville, from the time the letters of Junius commenced till his death, in Nov. 1770, was in opposition to the administration, and the partiality uniformly shown towards him by Junius, renders it highly probable that through him the latter derived much political information, and a knowledge of ministerial intrigues. The club-meetings held at Mr. Grenville's house tend to strengthen this supposition. Dr. Fellowes, in a letter to Mr. Barker, asks, "Did Burke at this time (1769) form one of the literary junto, that constantly assembled at the house of George Grenville? Did the junto subsist after the death of the principal in the November of the following year?"

Political men, and Mr. Grenville was one, are not in the habit of forming literary juntos. This club was probably christened by Junius.

From the foregoing circumstances, I have full faith in the correctness of the report respecting the discovery at Stowe; and have no doubt but that, when it is made public, it will confirm my opinion in regard to Junius.

The Stowe discovery accounts for the cause of suspicion resting upon Charles Lloyd, who, being private secretary to Mr. George Grenville, was probably employed in transcribing communications from him, as well as conveying them through Woodfall, to Junius, Mr. Grenville not choosing to trust to a common carrier.

No. VI.

LETTER FROM DAVID GARRICK

TO H. S. WOODFALL.*

Nov. 20, 1771.

"Sir.—I am obliged to address this letter to you and to appeal to your probity,—in that, and my own, lies my defence against a most unprovoked and illiberal attack made upon me by your celebrated correspondent Junius.—Had you not convinced me, that the letter I received last Monday night, was really written by that gentleman, I could not have imagined that such talents could have descended to such scurrility.—However mighty the power may be, with which he is pleased to threaten me, I trust with truth on my side, and your assistance to be able to parry the vigor of his arm, and oblige him to drop his point, not for want of force to overcome so feeble an adversary as I am, but from the shame and consciousness of a very bad cause. In one particular I will be acknowledged his superior: for however easy and justifiable such a return may be, I will make use of no foul language.—My vindication wants neither violence or abuse to support it: it would be as unmanly to give injurious names to one, who will not, as to him, who cannot resent it. Now to the fact, which, till you had explained to me, had made no impression upon my mind. I am told in most outrageous terms, and near a month after the supposed crime was committed, (for Junius was exactly informed of my *practices*† the day after,) that if the vagabond does not keep to his pantomimes, every hour of his life shall be cursed for his interfering with Junius. Is not this rather too inquisitorial for the great champion of our liberties? Now let us examine into the dreadful cause of this denunciation. Mr. Woodfall, the first instance, informs me in a letter in no wise relative to the subject, *without any previous impertinent inquiries on my part* or the least desire of secrecy on his, that *Junius would write no more*. Two or three days after the receipt of yours, being obliged to write a letter upon the business of the theatre to one at Richmond,‡ and after making my excuses for not being able to obey his majesty's

* This letter is in course of publication (1827) with other Garrick papers, by Mr. Colburn.—*Barker.*

† The word *practices*, instead of impertinent inquiries, was inserted in the letter sent to Garrick.—*Ib.*

‡ "This alludes to his friend Ramus."—*G. Coventry.*

commands, I mentioned to him that Junius would write no more—but the triumph that succeeded this intelligence, never reached me, till I received Junius's letter; and so far was I from thinking there was a crime in communicating what was sent me without reserve, that I will freely confess that I wrote no letter to any of my friends without the mention of so remarkable an event. I will venture to go further and affirm, that it would have been insensible and unnatural not to have done it. I beg you will assure Junius that I have as proper an abhorrence of an informer as he can have—that I have been honored with the confidence of men of all parties, and I defy my greatest enemy to produce a single instance of any one repenting of such confidence.

I have always declared that, were I by any accident to discover Junius, no consideration should prevail upon me to reveal a secret productive of so much mischief, nor can this most undeserved treatment of me make me alter my sentiments.

One thing more I must observe, that Junius has given credit to an informer in prejudice of him, who was never in the least suspected of being a spy before. Had any of our judges condemned the lowest culprit upon such evidence without hearing the person accused and other witnesses, the nation would have rung with injustice!

I shall say no more; but, I beg you to tell all you know of this matter, and be assured, that I am with great regard for Junius's talents, but without the least for his threatenings,

Your well-wisher and humble servant,

D. GARRICK."

VII.

THE BIRTH-DAY OF OUR LIBERTIES.

BY JOHN HORNE TOOKE.

Rouse, arouse from this slumber, thou child of oppression,
Away with this vile, this unmanly depression;
Join the bands of thy countrymen armed with thunder,
To burst all these shackles, these fetters asunder;
See they charge them, they rush on to conquer or die;
See they follow, they follow, they are broken, they fly!
They are conquer'd, they perish, no tyrant survives,
And the day of their deaths, is the *first* of *our* lives!

These tyrants suppress'd, there shall rise up no other,
But each man behold in his neighbour a brother:
Equal rights, equal laws, equal blessings shall nourish,
Peace, justice, and plenty, henceforward shall flourish:

O guard them with jealousy, spurn from this hour,
The *bribe* of *corruption* the *menace* of *power*,
And be this our decision, whilst *Freedom* survives,
That the day of its death, be the *last of our lives*.

No. VIII.

LETTER TO MAJOR CARTWRIGHT.

"My dear Cartwright, more dear to me than ever. You know that it was brought against me as a treasonable act, that I had belonged to a society which gave thanks to Mr. Paine for his rights of man: now your letters to the duke of Bedford,* contain much more treason against scoundrels than any thing written by Paine in the whole course of his life: and yet I do not hesitate to give to you my most deliberate thanks and praise for this most treasonable production. I know not which most to commend, its skill or its courage: but for its principle, I still am, and always was ready, in any useful manner, to lay down my life. The gout, which, at this time, is furiously upon me, abates not one jot of my resolution. But the gout affects only my limbs: I fear you will find it in the heads and hearts of most of our countrymen.

"However—I bono quo virtus tua te vocat—I pede fausto.†

"Most affectionately yours,

"J. HORNE TOOKE."

"*Wimbledon, Nov.* 4. 1805."

No. IX.

ANECDOTES AND SENTIMENTS,

OF JOHN HORNE TOOKE, FROM STEPHEN'S MEMOIRS.

"No man of our time has ever been an abler or more successful advocate for the constitution; not in its main fabric and dimensions only, but in all its various parts, proportions, and combinations.

"In respect to the people at large, he generally mentioned them towards the latter part of his life with respect; 'they only wanted instruction; for the bulk of mankind always mean well, even when they are in the wrong.' Like Phocion, however, he entertained

* "The State of the Nation, in a series of letters to his grace the duke of Bedford."—Jones, Newgate-street. 1805.

† Go where thy valor calls thee—go with prospered step.—*Im. Ed.*

but a slight opinion of their judgment; and, like him too, was but little solicitous of their approbation."

Whenever he was told of a new ministry, it was his constant observation, "this will do no good; if the ——— whigs come in, they will turn tories; it is not the men that should be changed, but the system! He was accustomed, with Swift, to define party—'the madness of many for the gain of a few.'

"Law, in his opinion, ought to be, not a luxury, for the rich, but a remedy, to be easily, speedily, and cheaply obtained by the poor. When told, that the courts of justice 'were open to all,' he replied: 'and so is the London Tavern—to such as can pay for the entertainment!'

"To the delays of chancery he was a mortal foe, and quoted his own case, a few years since, as a proof of it, adding, 'I cannot now make my will for want of a decision!'

"He always declared loudly against 'political judges;' and, on being asked his precise meaning, he observed, 'that the chancery and king's bench were fully sufficient to occupy the attention of any two mortal men.'

"Early in 1810, Mr. Tooke's various disorders had suddenly assumed such a violent appearance, that his physicians were alarmed, and all his friends supposed his dissolution to be at hand. On this trying occasion, the tender assiduity of his daughters, by administering to all his wants, contributed not a little to soothe his mind and assuage his sufferings. They constantly attended his pillow, anticipated his wishes, and did every thing that filial piety could dictate to alleviate the pressure of disease.

"On this occasion, the patient did not seem desirous of prolonging existence: he was actually devoid of that *volition* deemed so necessary to recovery.

"At length, however, he appears to have yielded to the entreaties of his friends and relatives: and nature having, at the same time spontaneously interposed, after a severe but successful struggle, life, which seemed, at one time, to have ebbed nearly to the last drop of existence, now flowed in upon him in a genial current. He prophesied, however, from the first, that the change so much desired, would not prove of long continuance, and considered himself merely as a traveller on a journey, detained unwillingly and against his better reason, in consequence of the pressing solicitations of others.

"Happening to ride over to Wimbledon (says Mr. Stephens) one morning during the spring of 1809, Mr. Tooke showed me a large bundle of manuscripts, which was supposed would prove sufficient to form a third volume of his great philological work. As he was in some doubts as to this circumstance, he desired me to *guess:* and, to enable me to approximate the truth, I began by taking the number of the pages. The next step was, to ascertain the lines and the words in a single page, and, after multiplying these together, and making a comparative estimate with the printed copy, I pronounced, without hesitation, that there was enough to make one volume and a half, at which he seemed much pleased.

"During his last illness he formed the resolution of destroying all his manuscripts and every other paper, or writing, title-deeds and account-books only excepted. The operation was performed in an apartment above stairs, and lasted during a whole month! An incessant fire was kept up for that purpose, and one of the young ladies, who was obliged reluctantly to assist in the conflagration, has since very appositely compared it 'to the burning of the Alexandrian library.' On this occasion the manuscript alluded to above was wholly consumed; a most valuable correspondence was at the same time committed to the flames, together with a treatise on Moral Philosophy, in express opposition, as I understand, to the principles laid down by Mr. archdeacon Paley. It is not a little remarkable that the life of the author had nearly been sacrificed at the same time with his works; for the combustion became so violent as to extend to his clothes, and actually scorched his great coat to such a degree as to render it utterly unfit to be worn again.

"I have been informed, by a gentleman who has been praised by him, in vol. ii. and is no mean judge of every thing appertaining to language, that the first word in vol. iii. thus unrelentingly destroyed, was, "*belief;*" and that a large portion of the manuscript consisted of a critical examination of the credibility of human testimony."

Upon this occasion, I apprehend, all the manuscripts of Junius were consumed, that no vestige should remain to implicate any living soul in the mysterious transactions of the author. It cannot be conceived that Horne Tooke, unless he were Junius, could have accumulated such a mass of papers requiring from their secret nature such total extinction. We have seen that the letters of Junius were all returned to him by Mr. Woodfall; and, that the secret of authorship should, as he had declared, *perish with him*

their destruction was imperiously demanded to close an avenue that would lead to certain detection. The motives inducing such an act, apparently so rash, cannot reasonably be accounted for upon any other supposition than that the original letters of Junius composed a part of the materials thus committed to the flames.

By the perusal of the life of Mr. Tooke during the times of Junius, the reader has seen that the efforts made in both characters constantly tended to the same end—that wherever Tooke appeared personally, Junius never failed to prompt him from behind the scene—that no measures against the government, during the whole period, were undertaken without their joint co-operation. —In short, that no object could be more faithfully represented by its shadow than the one by the other.—Is it then possible to believe that the fictious and the real character are two distinct persons, and moreover, political enemies! and above all, that their animosity should have arisen from the quarrel of Tooke with Wilkes? The contempt and detestation so often expressed by Junius towards the latter ought to dispel such a delusion. The decided and strong contrast in the characters of Junius and Wilkes must have presented an insurmountable barrier to any cordiality of feeling between them. The one actuated solely with a view of promoting the public good, the other concentrating all his patriotism into a single focus—self-aggrandizement.

The supposed misunderstanding therefore between Junius and Tooke, when the ostensible cause of it is taken into consideration, will appear to be in opposition to every principle that governs human action. This fictitious dispute consequently, which is relied upon to disprove their identity, tends more than any other circumstance that can be brought to bear upon the question, to substantiate the fact.

In conclusion, the testimony and arguments adduced in this volume in reference to Junius, are respectfully submitted to the candid consideration of the reader.

THE END.

Facsimile of the hand writing of Junius

private correspondence with Mr Hal

wade

Letter 8.

The last letter You printed was ill
proper. & I assure You printed against my
n opinion The Truth is there are
ople about me, whom I would wish
t to contradict, & the less rather
were so improperly
Juniuses in the papers, than not
all. I wish it could be recalled.
pose You were to say - We have some
ason to suspect that the last Letter
ed Junius in this paper was not written by the
al Junius, tho' the Observation
ated us at the time, or if You
n hit off any thing Yourself more
ensible, You will much Oblige me,
t without a positive Asseveration.
nd Let it be the same day with the
closed - beg you Your pardon for this
ude. I remain Your friend & humble
servant

in his

Woodfall

Facsimile of the two

satisfied. P.S. If you
and cannot get N.º C.
me, and I will get it
Whatever happens, d
and wonder at noth

By comparing the above I find a
letters; D not the d, in the compa
letter the same and placed in the
in the last D, of the word endors
but only the D's, have all the
ll's, also t's w a are very like

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as I possibly could do it. — In
the one wrote the other

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